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ST. LUKE IN TRADITION
From an eighth-century Gospel-Book in Vienna

THE CLARENDON BIBLE

Under the general editorship of
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AND CANON G. H. BOX

# THE GOSPEL
ACCORDING TO
# SAINT LUKE

*In the Revised Version*

WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

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# PREFACE

THE problem of the teaching of Holy Scripture at the present time presents many difficulties. There is a large and growing class of persons who feel bound to recognize that the progress of archaeological and critical studies has made it impossible for them to read, and still more to teach, it precisely in the old way. However strongly they may believe in inspiration, they cannot any longer set before their pupils, or take as the basis of their interpretation, the doctrine of the verbal inspiration of the Holy Scripture. It is with the object of meeting the requirements not only of the elder pupils in public schools, their teachers, students in training colleges, and others engaged in education, but also of the clergy, and the growing class of the general public which we believe takes an interest in Biblical studies, that the present series is projected.

The writers will be responsible each for his own contribution only, and their interpretation is based upon the belief that the books of the Bible require to be placed in their historical context, so that, as far as possible, we may recover the sense which they bore when written. Any application of them must rest upon this ground. It is not the writers' intention to set out the latest notions of radical scholars—English or foreign—nor even to describe the exact position at which the discussion of the various problems has arrived. The aim of the series is rather to put forward a constructive view of the books and their teaching, taking into consideration and welcoming results as to which there is a large measure of agreement among scholars.

In regard to form, subjects requiring comprehensive treatment are dealt with in Essays, whether forming part of the introduction or interspersed among the notes. The notes themselves are mainly concerned with the subject-matter of the books and the points of interest (historical, doctrinal, &c.) therein presented; they deal with the elucidation of words, allusions, and the like only so far as seems necessary to a proper comprehension of the author's meaning.

THOMAS OXON.
HERBERT WILD. } *General Editors.*
GEORGE H. BOX.

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# INTRODUCTION

## § 1. *Luke and Acts*

THE third Gospel[1] of our New Testament canon is the first volume of a perhaps unfinished historical work which is the largest and most comprehensive treatise in the New Testament. This fact is somewhat obscured for us by the separation of the two volumes, the Gospel and the Acts, but it is the first fact to realize in approaching the study of either volume. The reason for the separation is not hard to discover. The first volume belongs, in form and style, to a type of literary document, 'the Gospel', which is found both before and after the composition of the Lucan history, and has such special significance and importance that the four Gospels were inevitably grouped together at the beginning of the New Testament. But Luke–Acts must be seen as a whole if we are to appreciate its literary and historical importance.

Luke–Acts, which occupies more than one-quarter of the New Testament, is the first 'History of Christianity'. It begins with the birth of the forerunner of Christ and closes with the settlement of the great apostle of the Gentiles in the world-capital, Rome. Its wide sweep, the vast importance of its subject-matter, its vivid narrative and great literary power, its closeness to the events, give it a unique position among Christian documents, and indeed entitle it to rank among the world's greatest books. A brief sketch of its purpose and general character is necessary before we pass to the study of the Gospel, its first volume.

The formal preface and dedication to Theophilus at the beginning of Lk., referred to at the beginning of Acts, show that the writer is consciously embarking on a large historical work, which he means to be a full and accurate account of the Christian movement. Though dedicated to one man, a feature found in other works of the age, it is of course intended for a much wider audience.

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[1] I use the abbreviation Lk. for the Gospel: the author is referred to as S. Luke. The other Gospels are referred to as Matt., Mk., and John. I borrow Cadbury's convenient formula 'Luke–Acts' for the Lucan history as a whole: see his *Making of Luke–Acts.*

The author does not explicitly say for what class of readers his work is intended. Doubtless he would have in his mind first of all the Christian community, that they might have available a 'narrative' concerning the things wherein they were instructed.[1] But it is possible to discern in his work a larger aim. Luke–Acts may be called a 'Defence of Christianity to the Roman world'. The Roman interest is obvious. S. Luke sees the whole of the story he has to tell in its setting in the cosmopolitan civilization of the Empire, to the centre of which the story of Acts moves: and he is concerned to make it plain that Christ was no political agitator or disturber of the *pax Romana*, and that Christianity does not conflict with social order and moral welfare. This appears most plainly in the accounts of the trials of our Lord and of S. Paul, where the author is careful to emphasize the reluctance of the Roman authorities to convict, and the purely religious nature of the difference between the Christians and the Jews. Jewish rancour and misrepresentation are shown to be responsible for the issue in either case.[2]

Behind these didactic and apologetic purposes it is easy to see other motives at work. S. Luke was a Christian, deeply interested in the events he records for his own sake. He was convinced that there was a Divine plan which had been fulfilled in these events, and that it concerned both Jews and Gentiles.[3] He writes under the influence of this belief, finding fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy both in the events of our Lord's life and in the fortunes of His followers. His personal interest in the story he narrates is largely responsible for the sustained vigour of his work, its variety and wealth of graphic detail, the vivid sense of the supernatural which pervades it. He was also himself a Gentile, and the Christian revelation not only is seen against the wide background of the Roman world, but also is presented as essentially universal in its character. Again, S. Luke was an artist in words, and we may be confident that when he says 'it seemed good to me also . . . to write' the creative impulse moved him just as much as his professed purpose of instructing Theophilus. Few contemporary historians, and indeed few historians of any date, can compare with him in variety of literary achievement. If we take from the Gospel, which Renan called the most beautiful book in the world, the exquisite annunciation story, some of the great parables, the story of the woman who was a sinner, and set these delicate sensitive pieces of writing side by side with the sermons and speeches in Acts and the vivid narrative of S. Paul's shipwreck, we cannot doubt that S. Luke was conscious of great powers, not unworthy of the large scale and transcendent subject-matter of his undertaking.

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[1] Lk. $1^{1,4}$.

[2] See Lk. 23, Acts $18^{12ff.}$, $23^{26ff.}$, $25^{13ff.}$.

[3] Lk. $24^{45-47}$, Acts $10^{34-48}$, illustrate this; but references could be multiplied almost indefinitely, as the point is manifest everywhere in the books.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY AT ROME. A painted grave under a church on the Appian Way. The frescoes in the recess are of a symbolical character, and almost certainly Early Christian

Luke–Acts, then, we can regard as an historical work on a large scale, didactic and apologetic in purpose, written by a Gentile

Christian who saw the working of God in the history he records, and who also brought to his work literary ability of a high order. With this brief characterization of the work as a whole we must now pass on to the closer examination of the Gospel.

### § 2. *The Gospel Form: its Origin and Antecedents*

Luke–Acts as a whole has obvious affinities to the literary histories of the ancient world, though perhaps Harnack and Meyer go too far in their disposition to treat S. Luke as a regular literary man. The work of a Polybius or a Tacitus was intended for cultivated circles in which literary form would be of the first importance: S. Luke was not primarily producing a work of art, and his first readers would not take up his book in order to appreciate its literary qualities. When we look at his Gospel by itself, the nearest contemporary types of literature are the 'Life', such as were written by Plutarch, Suetonius, or Tacitus, or again 'Memorabilia', also a familiar form, of which we possess examples in the writings of Xenophon and Arrian. Yet the 'Gospel' is best regarded as a separate literary type, since it is not a professed biography on the one hand, nor on the other does it have the personal note of the memoir, in which the writer usually professes to give his own reminiscences, as Xenophon does of Socrates or Arrian of Epictetus, or at least combines reminiscences of his own with other material.[1] The Gospel as we find it in Mk., the earliest of our four, is an independent form created by its own material: it is the crystallization in writing of the Church's oral tradition. It does not set out to give new information to the reader in systematic biographical form, but to fix in writing the floating material of the tradition: and the writer is entirely subordinate to, and lost behind, his material. It presupposes the Church and its oral instruction of converts. Nor does the Gospel form of writing belong to the first stage of the Church's life. There appear to have been three earlier types of document in existence before any Gospel was written.

(1) Among the earliest writings produced by the Christian

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[1] See Rawlinson's *S. Mark* (Westminster Commentaries), pp. xviii f., Cadbury, *Making of Luke–Acts*, pp. 127 ff., for a fuller discussion.

movement were probably collections of O.T. proof-texts, such as are implied by the frequent O.T. quotations made by the New Testament writers. This is admittedly a matter of inference, and no such collection has survived in primitive form; but such collections were known to S. Cyprian (died 258) under the name of *testimonia*.

(2) The hypothetical document known as 'Q', which underlies the text of Matt. and Lk., is probably one of several early collections of sayings of the Lord. Similar collections of events in the Lord's life may have been made as well. The 'little Apocalypse' which underlies Mk. 13, and is probably the work of a Christian prophet, is a variant of the 'sayings' type; and it has been suggested with much probability that the Passion story would be one of the earliest narratives of events to be committed to writing.

(3) For the existence of *testimonia* and of written collections of sayings and doings of the Lord we have only more or less plausible hypothesis to go upon. The third group of writings, the Pauline epistles, still exist, and are the earliest indisputable evidence in documentary form for primitive Christianity. These letters of a travelling missionary are not formal treatises on religion or on the historical basis of the Christian faith, but much of the theology and morals of the primitive Church necessarily appears in them. They presuppose oral instruction in the Gospel message[1] delivered by the apostles, and allude to this repeatedly in support of the writer's instructions or exhortations on the particular topics or problems which have produced the letter.

During the lifetime of the apostles and their companions the Church seems to have been content with the oral tradition, supported by these various incidental writings. No attempt was made to get from the beginning a systematic written record of the story of Jesus. There are two probable reasons for this indifference. The expectation of the Lord's immediate return in visible form to establish His Kingdom[2] in its fullness would make such a record seem unnecessary. But also no doubt the primitive Church preferred the living voice as long as it could be had.[3]

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[1] 1 Cor. $15^{11}$.

[2] See for this expectation 1 Thess.

[3] Compare the opinion of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis at the beginning

But with the passing of those who 'from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word', and the delay in the Parousia, written standards became necessary. The Lucan preface speaks of 'many' who committed to writing 'a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us'. Whoever these predecessors of S. Luke were, and whatever form these narratives took, none of these writings survive in independent form, with one important exception. That important exception is our 'Gospel according to Mark'. Mk. stands quite alone: for though scholars are generally agreed that Q,[1] the hypothetical source from which the non-Marcan material common to Matt. and Lk. is derived, was a document written in Greek, probably earlier than Mk., it does not survive independently, and its original form cannot be reconstructed with any certainty. Still less can we feel certain about the two other documents, L and M, which Streeter would put on the same footing as Mk. and Q.[2]

Into the vexed question of whether S. Mark used written or oral sources we must not here enter. Whether oral or not, the material reached him already set in certain recognizable forms, which are still clearly discernible in the synoptic Gospels. Recently scholars have spent much care in investigating these forms. One of the most obvious features of Mk. (or Lk.) is its synthetic character: the narrative consists of separate, generally disconnected, units of material pieced together; and the process of synthesis is partly determined by the evangelist himself. It is not always possible to say whether a sequence of events or sayings in a gospel comes (*a*) in the original historical connexion, (*b*) in the form they took in some earlier oral or written collection, (*c*) in the form the evangelist assigned to them himself. We shall note many instances in the commentary where the Marcan or the Matthaean arrangement of material is quite different from the Lucan. These units are the natural product of an oral tradition. For purposes of oral transmission the anecdote, the pithy saying,

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of the second century: 'I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice' (Eus., *H. E.*, iii. 39. 4).

[1] The symbol Q is derived from the German word *Quelle* = source.

[2] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, ch. 9.

the parable, and similar short and handy forms, are inevitably adopted as being the easiest to remember. Every reader of the Gospels knows how much of the story can be covered by some such fivefold classification as this: (*a*) the miracle story, (*b*) the controversy, (*c*) the memorable saying in a given situation, (*d*) the epigram, (*e*) the parable. Much of S. Mark's material, whether derived directly from S. Peter or from S. Peter's Roman converts, was already in this form when he learnt it. Current also in the churches were, as we have seen, collections of sayings, and very full and detailed accounts of the Passion and Resurrection: to this we may add (what apparently was not widely known) the story of the Lord's virgin birth and early life in Nazareth.[1] S. Mark's great achievement was the construction of a 'gospel' from so much of this material as he knew and thought fit to use.

### § 3. *S. Luke's Gospel and its Sources*

S. Mark's book was a pioneer work which introduced a new type of literature to the world. S. Luke carries the process several stages further. Though Mk. is one of his main sources, S. Luke's Gospel is much more than a new and revised edition of Mk. It is a new historical work, for which Mk. is one and perhaps not the most valued of the writer's documentary sources. What these sources were and how S. Luke used them must be the next points in our investigation; and first we must look at the synoptic problem.

A century of critical study of what is known as the 'Synoptic Problem' has produced results which are now generally accepted by students of the New Testament and can be summarily stated. The mass of detailed evidence on which they depend must be consulted elsewhere,[2] since it is too large to be presented here.

(*a*) The synoptic problem arises when we ask the question,

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[1] See the Note on the Virgin Birth, pp. 111 ff. For the work on 'forms' referred to in this paragraph see Fascher, *Die formgeschichtliche Methode*.

[2] The essential books for English readers are *Horae Synopticae* (ed. Hawkins), *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (ed. Sanday), and Streeter's *The Four Gospels*. For a shorter survey see Canon Streeter's article on the Synoptic Problem in Peake's Commentary.

'What is the relation between the synoptic Gospels—Matt., Mk., and Lk.—in view of the fact that not only are a considerable number of sayings and incidents recorded by more than one of them—which is natural enough—but "whenever they give an account of the same incident they commonly do so in language which is often almost word for word identical"?' (Streeter.) If the agreement were confined to *sayings* of the Lord, it would be possible to account for it as accurate memory-work; but when we find this almost verbal identity appearing again and again in reports of *events*, a theory of documentary dependence becomes overwhelmingly probable. We then proceed to look for the common document or documents.

(*b*) It is almost universally agreed that the first of such documents is to be found, not outside the synoptics, but in one of their own number, namely Mk. Streeter[1] gives five reasons for believing that Mk.[2] was used as a source by the authors of Matt. and Lk. I give them here in a summarized form.

(1) Matt. reproduces the substance of 90 per cent. of Mk., and, despite his compression of Mk.'s diffuse style, gives 51 per cent. of the actual words of Mk. We may regard Matt. as a new edition of Mk., supplemented by other material. Lk.'s method is rather different. He frequently prefers a non-Marcan version of incidents or teachings found in Mk.; and in the Passion story he apparently conflates Mk. with another account. Nevertheless, he uses more than half of Mk. in much the same way as Matt.

(2) Where the three Gospels correspond, the majority of Mk.'s words are reproduced by Matt. and Lk., either alternately or both together; and while they thus normally agree with Mk., they hardly ever agree against Mk. in their wording, and then only in unimportant details, such as minor improvements in style and grammar.

(3) Where Matt. deserts Mk.'s order of events, Lk. supports Mk.; and where Lk. deserts Mk.'s order, Matt. supports Mk. But Matt. and Lk. never agree against Mk. in their arrangement of incidents.

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[1] *Four Gospels*, pp. 151–152, 159–169.

[2] The Ur-Marcus theory may be rejected: see Streeter, *Four Gospels*, ch. 7; Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.

(4) Many small variants from Marcan phrasing in Matt. and Lk. are best explained as modifications of the Marcan text in the interests of (*a*) more reverent language (e.g. Mk. $6^5$, 'he could there do no mighty work', becomes, Matt. $13^{58}$, 'he did not many mighty works', and is omitted altogether by Lk.); (*b*) improvements in grammar and style; (*c*) excision of Aramaic words, which Mk. retains in eight passages.

(5) Comparison of the ways in which Matt. and Lk. use the Marcan material implies that they had it before them in a documentary form, i.e. as we now have it in our second Gospel. Matt. uses Mk.'s scheme as a framework into which non-Marcan material is introduced; Lk. for the most part gives Marcan and non-Marcan material in alternate blocks. Both procedures are easily intelligible as solutions of a common problem—how to incorporate an existing written source with other matter.

We may add that the omission of any direct reference by the authors of Matt. and Lk. to their use of S. Mark's Gospel is entirely in keeping with the literary conventions of their day. Where a modern writer is bound to acknowledge his indebtedness to his predecessors both by the etiquette of authorship and by the law of copyright, no such obligations lay upon an ancient author. Books were public property, and it was just as proper for an ancient author to copy passages from an earlier writer without acknowledgement as for a modern writer to use the modern apparatus of references and foot-notes.

(*c*) That S. Luke used Mk. may be taken, then, as practically certain. Only slightly less probable is the common use by S. Luke and the author of Matt. of another document, now lost, which scholars refer to as Q. Of the large body of non-Marcan material in Matt. and Lk. some 200 verses appear in both of them, though in quite different contexts and with varying degrees of verbal assimilation. We cannot explain this by what might seem the obvious hypothesis, namely, direct borrowing by one from the other: for it so happens 'that, subsequent to the Temptation story, there is not a single case in which Matthew and Luke agree in inserting the same saying at the same point in the Marcan outline' (Streeter, *Four Gospels*, p. 183). We cannot suppose that

S. Luke, let us say, carefully examined Matt. and Mk. to discover the non-Marcan parts of Matt., and then for some whimsical reason painfully extricated every shred of non-Marcan material from its context in Matt. and put it into a different context, often with a distinct loss of appropriateness. Common use of the oral tradition might be sufficient to account for some of the resemblances. But where, as more often happens, there is close verbal assimilation between the two, we have the same reasons as before with Mk. to infer an underlying documentary source.

What this document did and did not contain is a question which cannot be satisfactorily answered. All attempts to reconstruct Q are met by two insoluble difficulties: (*a*) where there is similarity of matter but divergence in wording, there is nothing to make a common document more likely than a use of oral tradition; (*b*) granted the existence of Q as a written document, it is highly probable that some portion of it was not used by one or other of the two evangelists, so that, for all we know, there may be Q material in either Matt. or Lk. which, in the absence of corroborative evidence, cannot now be identified. Only where the form is in almost verbal agreement can we have any confidence in assigning a common non-Marcan passage in Matt. and Lk. to Q. As far as we can determine its contents, it seems to have been mainly a collection of sayings with but little narrative.

(*d*) There remains a large amount of Lk. which is still unaccounted for. The investigation of this material has led Canon Streeter to make two very important contributions to synoptic criticism, the Proto-Luke hypothesis and the Four-Document hypothesis. Both hypotheses are still in the process of examination by scholars, and they have not yet attained the status of 'received opinions'; but it is clear that all Lucan source-analysis will henceforward have to take account of Streeter's work.[1] We are not directly concerned here with the Four-Document hypothesis as such, but in order to make its bearing plain on the Proto-Luke hypothesis it must be briefly stated before we consider the Proto-Luke hypothesis.

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[1] Streeter stated his Proto-Luke hypothesis first in an article in the *Hibbert Journal*, October 1921. In *The Four Gospels* (1924) he developed his argument and proceeded to set forth his Four-Document hypothesis. The Proto-Luke hypothesis has been examined and supported in the very thorough and careful work by Dr. Vincent Taylor, *Behind the Third Gospel* (1926). Dr. Easton, in his Commentary on Lk. (1926), accepts the hypothesis of a third written source L. Cadbury (*Making of Luke–Acts*, ch. 6) is sceptical, and thinks that, for various reasons which he gives, 'the

Streeter holds that the usual Two-Document theory, which states that Mk. and Q were used by the authors of Matt. and Lk., is inadequate and misleading; in particular it assigns to Q an undue importance in comparison with the sources used by S. Luke only or by the author of Matt. only. The material peculiar to Matt. or to Lk., Streeter suggests, has the same kind of status as Mk. or Q. Mk. is traditionally connected with Rome; and Streeter insists that the great churches had 'the preponderating influence . . . in the determination of the thought and literature of primitive Christianity'.[1] Hence he would find in Matt. and Lk. parts of the cycles of tradition current in the great centres—Jerusalem, Antioch, and Caesarea, the places of supreme importance in the history of the first days of Christianity. We get then three documents in addition to Mk.: Q, in its Greek form, Streeter would refer to Antioch and regard as possibly a translation of an Aramaic work by S. Matthew the Apostle; L, S. Luke's special source, he would assign to Caesarea, where S. Luke spent two years in the company of S. Paul; M, the material peculiar to Matt., he connects with Jerusalem because of its 'conspicuously Jewish atmosphere' and 'distinctly anti-Gentile bias'.

M we must leave aside: here we are concerned only with the existence of L. Mk. and Q are documentary sources: was there a third document in S. Luke's hands, compiled by a person unknown, or by 'L' should we rather understand a mass of oral material noted down by S. Luke for incorporation in his Gospel? Easton is confident that L is a document, written by a Palestinian 'Hellenist' (possibly Philip the Evangelist, as Harnack suggests); and he claims for it a peculiar vocabulary and style, different from

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attempt to establish and distinguish written Greek sources for the passages recorded only by Luke seems doomed to prove unsatisfactory and largely subjective'. Criticism of the Proto-Luke hypothesis in an article by Hunkin in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1927, and in a review of Taylor's book by Creed in the same journal, January 1927.

[1] *Four Gospels*, p. 230.

Lk.'s own, strongly Judaistic feeling, and high literary beauties, which have been often marred by the final editor. He would date it *circa* 55–65. It is doubtful whether we are justified in claiming as much as this. The assumption of a document is *a priori* probable: S. Luke himself refers to many writers before him, and it is unlikely that Q was the only written collection made; Streeter, again, is probably justified in thinking that each Greek-speaking church would have its own collection. But the attempt to find corroborative evidence from Lk. is doomed to disappointment, when we consider that no surviving peculiarities of Marcan vocabulary or style distinguish those passages of Lk. which are derived from Mk. Mk. we know; Q we can test because *two* extant works use it; but L is unverifiable. Nor can we ever be sure that, even if a document L existed, all the matter peculiar to Lk. is derived from it: some may be obtained orally, some from other documents, as in all probability the birth and infancy narrative was. With this inconclusive result we have perforce to be content. By 'L' we can signify nothing more precise than 'material found only in Lk., which possibly comes from a documentary source'.

The Proto-Luke theory is not bound up with acceptance of either the Two-Document or the Four-Document theory. Taylor's important work, already referred to, assumes the Two-Document theory. But the Proto-Luke theory is a theory of stages in the composition of our third Gospel; and it would be more formally complete if we could be sure that the matter peculiar to Lk. had reached the condition of a definite document by the time it came into S. Luke's hands. Otherwise it makes little difference whether L is written or oral matter, so far as Proto-Luke is concerned.

We now turn to the Proto-Luke hypothesis itself. Streeter arrived at it by a careful examination of the way in which S. Luke used Mk. Sir John Hawkins, in an essay in *Oxford Studies*, had already established the point that in Lk. $6^{20}$–$8^{3}$, $9^{51}$–$18^{14}$ there is practically no use made of Mk.; under the influence of the idea that Mk. was the framework which S. Luke used for his Gospel he called these Lucan passages 'the lesser interpolation' and 'the greater interpolation'. He also showed that in Lk. $22^{14}$–$24^{12}$

Marcan material is conflated with another source. Streeter believes that Lk. $3^{1}$–$4^{30}$ and $19^{1\text{-}27}$ must be added to the passages which are almost entirely non-Marcan in origin. Further, the Resurrection appearances come from a non-Marcan source. All this material taken together is much larger in extent than the Marcan sections. Why then assume a Marcan framework into which all this other material has been introduced? Streeter holds that to make that assumption is to misconceive the whole process of development. Rather we should say that *Q and L were already combined into a single document, 'Proto-Luke', and into this S. Luke inserted extracts from Mk. when it came into his hands.*

This is the essence of the Proto-Luke theory, but Streeter has elaborated it further. He holds that S. Luke was himself the compiler of Proto-Luke, and that it 'was, and was originally intended as, a complete gospel'.[1] Proto-Luke, then, in Streeter's view, is a gospel parallel to Mk. and of approximately equal value.[2] Lk., as we have it, he would regard as a second and improved edition, made by S. Luke when he came across Mk. and availed himself of the new material, mainly concerning the Galilean ministry, to fill the gaps in his first edition.

The argument which Streeter develops in support of his contention cannot be detailed here, and must be read in his *Four Gospels*, especially ch. 8. The only criticism which I would offer here is that we should distinguish between what I have called the essence of the theory and the other details which Streeter adds to it. That Q and L were closely combined into a single document before the Marcan material was added is far the most likely explanation of the phenomena of the Lucan text, and is powerfully argued by Dr. Taylor in his *Behind the Third Gospel*; see especially ch. 6, 'S. Luke's use of Q'. We get on to more insecure ground when we assert that Proto-Luke, or Q + L, was a complete gospel. There is, of course, no precise definition of the word 'gospel', but it seems desirable to confine the word to the sort of thing that is represented by Mk. and Lk.; and my impression of Proto-Luke is that 'a first draft of a gospel' or 'a half-way house' more accurately describes it than the phrase 'a complete gospel'. I should agree with Taylor, who says[1]: 'Its deficiencies, especially in respect of Galilean matter, precluded anything like immediate publication. Not until the Evangelist was able to fill out his story by the aid of our Second Gospel and by the material contained in the Birth Stories of Luke i and ii could the Third Gospel be given to the world in a form agreeable to its writer's desires and intentions. Proto-Luke is no more than the first draft of a great work.'

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 221.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 222: cf., however, p. 214, where he describes Proto-Luke as 'a kind of half-way house between Collections of Sayings, like Q, and the biographical type of Gospel of which Mark was the originator'.

Streeter and Taylor agree that the author of Proto-Luke and the author of Lk. are one and the same—S. Luke the companion of S. Paul. We shall return to the question of the authorship of Lk. But there is good reason to hold that Proto-Luke, whether we regard it as a gospel or a first draft, or even as no more than a stage in the arranging of the materials for a gospel, was the work of the author of Lk. and Acts. Streeter[2] points out that the tendency of the two is exactly the same. Both show special interest in the Herod dynasty and in Samaria; both represent Christ as the Saviour of the world, accepted by Gentiles but rejected by his own people; in both there is a preference for the more miraculous of two versions, as when Proto-Luke adds the miraculous draught of fishes to the call of Peter, and Acts sees a resuscitation of the dead in the episode of Eutychus: in Proto-Luke, as in Lk., there is that 'atmosphere of extraordinary tenderness, somehow made quite compatible with the sternest call to righteousness, sacrifice, and effort . . . and finding expression in a unique sympathy for the poor, for women, for sinners, and for all whom men despise'.

A date for Proto-Luke can be but conjectural. Streeter suggests that S. Luke collected information at Caesarea during the two years of S. Paul's captivity there (57–9), and later, probably after S. Paul's death by martyrdom in Rome (64), discovered Q, and composed Proto-Luke. Taylor agrees, and suggests a date about the year 65.

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[1] In his introduction to his reconstruction of Proto-Luke published in *Theology*, March 1927.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 219–21.

(*e*) At least one more source, probably documentary, must be added to our list before our conspectus is complete. It is generally recognized that the birth story of Lk. 1 and 2 is quite separate from the rest of the Gospel in its style and general character. As the question of its origin is bound up with questions that arise from the consideration of its subject-matter, the reader is referred to the discussion of these chapters in the commentary.

To sum up this section. S. Luke's Gospel is based on four main sources, Mk., Q, L, the special source of Lk. 1 and 2: the first two are documentary, the second two probably, though less clearly, documentary; and there is much to be said for the hypothesis that three main stages can be detected in the composition of the Gospel: (1) the combination of Q and L into a first draft, which we may call Proto-Luke; (2) the addition of large parts of Mk. to this first draft; (3) the final revision when the first two chapters were prefixed. It should be carefully observed that this process is far from being mere 'scissors and paste' work. The material, in passing through S. Luke's hands, is recast and re-expressed by him, so that what he writes is genuinely creative work, bearing the stamp of the writer's personality and literary gifts. The Gospel as we have it is a unity and a literary masterpiece. No dissection of it should be allowed to interfere with the reader's first critical duty, which is to appreciate the noble beauty of this great work of art and religion.

## § 4. *Some Lucan Characteristics*

We have already mentioned in passing some of the characteristic features of this Gospel in preceding sections of this Introduction. These we shall gather together and illustrate in this section, and add brief notes of a few other distinguishing marks of S. Luke's work, to assist the reader in studying the Gospel. Nothing exhaustive can be attempted: a complete volume would be needed to do anything like justice to the subject.

(*a*) In laying stress on the *literary qualities* of Lk. we have already (§ 1) referred to the large scale on which the writer has constructed his history, and to the variety of literary achievement which it contains, as illustrated by the annunciation story, the great parables, and the story of the woman who was a sinner, to take only three outstanding examples. To appreciate S. Luke's range and flexibility fully, it is necessary to study Luke–Acts as a whole, but in the Gospel itself we can find plenty of evidence. We may add to the illustrations already given the episode of Martha and Mary at Bethany and the story of the walk to Emmaus, admirable instances of the delicacy and dignity of his workmanship in various applications. With this mastery in narrative we may associate his excellence in pen-portraiture, the charming vignettes of Zacharias, Anna, the Roman centurion, Zacchaeus, the father in the parable of the prodigal, or, again, where he is sketching unattractive characters, the few but vivid touches which go to make the portraits of Herod Antipas, the Pharisee in the parable of the Pharisee and the publican, the elder brother of the parable of the prodigal. The economy of the style is as marked as the vivid effects produced.

Another noteworthy quality of his literary form is his sensitiveness to style, and the skill with which he will adapt his style to his subject-matter. It is astonishing that the writer of the preface, with its well-balanced, carefully periodic artistry, should pass with such ease to the naïve simplicity and idyllic loveliness of the birth narrative, with its very different idiom, and then again to the graceful narrative of the main body of the Gospel; and in Acts, as he moves away from Palestine, the colouring derived from the Septuagint, which he has used as appropriate to the Gospel story and the early Palestinian chapters of Acts, gives way to a more 'secular' style as the story develops in the spacious atmosphere of the Roman Empire. The speech of S. Paul before Agrippa seems to belong to a different world from that of the story of Zacharias at the beginning of the Gospel: yet both are admirably done and both suit the author's purpose exactly.

Other qualities, which the reader may be left to watch for, are dramatic power, pathos, significant contrast, restraint—factors of S. Luke's art which often combine in a single passage. Observe, for instance, how they concur to make the story of the widow's son at Nain a little masterpiece: the dramatic meeting near the city gate, the touches of pathos in 'the only son of his mother, and she was a widow', the contrast between the stricken mother and the Lord, superhuman in power, and in compassion both human and divine, the simplicity and restraint with which the stupendous miracle is described. The story of the Passion is naturally supreme in these qualities: note, e.g., the effect of the words 'and the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter' ($22^{61}$), or the concluding words of the trial scene ($23^{25}$) or the words to the women of Jerusalem ($23^{28}$) or the description of the walk to Emmaus ($24^{13ff}$).

Sebastiyeh, the ancient Samaria. The ruins of a Roman building

(*b*) Another marked feature of the Gospel is its *universal* character. What begins as a mission to Jews soon includes Samaritans and Gentiles as well. Our Lord wishes to go to a Samaritan village on His way to Jerusalem ($9^{51}$); the hero of a famous parable is a Samaritan ($10^{30ff}$); the one grateful leper of the ten who were healed was a Samaritan ($17^{11ff}$); and in Acts 8

S. Luke is careful to describe the evangelizing of Samaria, which is the natural consequence of the Lord's attitude to Samaritans. Gentiles are even more prominent. Already in the song of Simeon ($2^{29-32}$) the Christ is proclaimed as 'a light for revelation to the Gentiles', a thought echoed in the quotation ($3^{6}$) which forms part of the account of John's preaching. S. Luke significantly carries the genealogy back to Adam, not stopping at Abraham. In the synagogue at Nazareth there is a definite anticipation of what S. Paul called 'turning to the Gentiles' ($4^{25\mathrm{ff}}$). The Roman centurion is commended for a faith greater than any found in Israel ($7^{9}$). The Gentiles will enter the kingdom from which Jews will be excluded ($13^{29}$). The Gospel ends with the command to preach 'unto all the nations' ($24^{47}$). All this reaches its fullest direct expression in Acts, in S. Peter's statement at Caesarea (Acts $10^{34-5}$), S. Paul's preaching at Athens (Acts $17^{22\mathrm{ff}}$), and his final word in Rome (Acts $28^{28}$).

(*c*) No feature of S. Luke's Gospel is more marked than its note of *tenderness for the poor, the despised, and the sinful.* Dante in the *De Monarchia* speaks of S. Luke as 'scriba mansuetudinis Christi'. Jesus in Lk. is pre-eminently 'the friend of publicans and sinners' and the champion of the poor. The pride of wealth and rank is continually assailed. The note sounded in the Magnificat recurs again and again. Mary's child is born in a manger, and it is shepherds, humble folk, not Eastern kings, who hail his birth. Christ is anointed with the Spirit 'to preach good tidings to the poor' ($4^{18}$). The first beatitude blesses the poor ($6^{20}$). John is told that the poor have good tidings preached to them ($7^{22}$). The disciple must 'bid the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind' to his feast ($14^{13}$); and they it is who are admitted in the parable of the Great Supper ($14^{16\mathrm{ff}}$). The Pharisees, 'who were lovers of money', are warned in the parable of Dives and Lazarus ($16^{19\mathrm{ff}}$). Our Lord consorts with publicans and sinners, and it is made a charge against him; cf. $5^{27\mathrm{ff}}$, $7^{36\mathrm{ff}}$, $19^{7}$.

The note of tenderness to sinners appears supremely in this Gospel in such passages as $7^{36}$ (the woman who was a sinner), the great parables of ch. 15, and the story of the penitent thief on the Cross ($23^{39-43}$). It should be observed that this beautiful feature so prominent in Lk. is not there at the expense of the call to hardness and self-sacrifice. S. Luke gives all due weight to our Lord's exacting demands on character, and there is no sentimental weakening of the note of sternness: see the commentary on $9^{57-62}$.

(*d*) The *prominence of women* in the narrative is another feature of Lk. which has often been noticed, and may well be another sign of that sensitiveness which made him an artist and the evangelist of the loving tenderness of God. The list of the women of the Gospel speaks for itself: Elisabeth, Mary the mother of Jesus, Anna, the widow at Nain, the sinner, Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, the woman with the issue of blood, Martha and Mary, the widow with the two mites, the women of Jerusalem, the women at the tomb.

(*e*) A fifth point is S. Luke's marked *interest in prayer*. References to our Lord's prayers and to His teaching about prayer are very numerous. Our Lord prays at His baptism, He retires into solitude to pray, He spends a whole night in prayer, He prays before asking the disciples 'who say ye that I am', the Transfiguration occurs as He prays, His own praying stirs the disciples to ask Him for teaching about prayer, He prays in Gethsemane and on the Cross.[1] Three parables deal directly with prayer, the Friend at Midnight ($11^{5\text{ff}}$), the Unjust Judge ($18^{1\text{ff}}$), and the Pharisee and the Publican ($18^{10\text{ff}}$). The element of praise and thanksgiving in prayer is continually referred to, and gives S. Luke's Gospel that note of joy which is one of its most impressive marks.[2] It is in Lk. that we find *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, *Nunc Dimittis*.

(*f*) The prominence given by S. Luke to *miracles and angels* raises questions the full discussion of which would take us beyond the limits of this commentary. The reader will find a brief consideration of the philosophical problem of miracle in the note on the Virgin Birth: for angels see the note on $1^{19}$. Here we shall add only two observations, from the standpoint of the historical and critical study of the Gospel.

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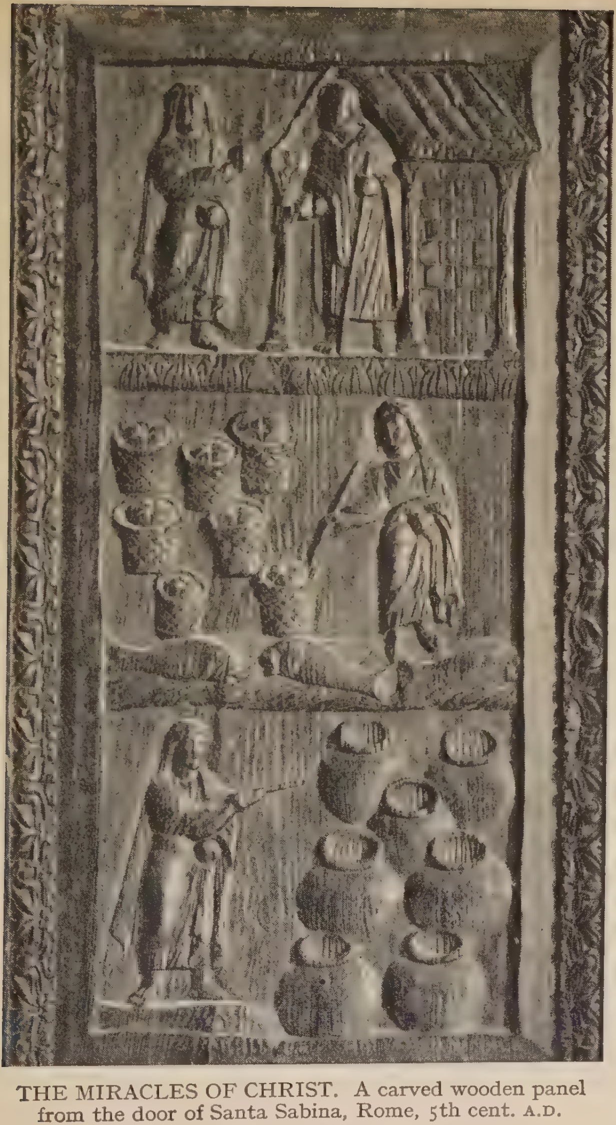
[1] The passages referred to are $3^{21}$, $5^{16}$, $6^{12}$, $9^{18}$, $9^{29}$, $11^{1}$, $22^{41}$, $23^{46}$.

[2] See $2^{13}$, $2^{20}$, $5^{25}$, $7^{16}$, $13^{13}$, $17^{15}$, $18^{43}$, $19^{37}$, $24^{52-3}$. Harnack says: 'What a trumpet-note of joy, courage and triumph sounds through the whole Lukan history, from the first to the last pages! *Vexilla regis prodeunt*!' (*Luke the Physician*, p. 163 n.)

(1) S. Luke was a man of his time, and it was a time when no difficulty was felt about the miraculous save among a few professed sceptics in the small circle of the educated, and when the miraculous was highly valued as evidence. It may well be that the ready credence given to stories of miracle by the common mind of the age has introduced into S. Luke's sources a miraculous colouring which in some cases amounts to a distortion of the historical happenings. Our modern emancipation from the doctrine of the infallible book carries with it a recognition of the part played in the making of the New Testament by the preconceived ideas of those who handed on the traditions and those who wrote them down. The Gospels are missionary literature; and when an abstract regard for precise 'scientific' history is hardly existent, and the desire to edify and convert is uppermost, men already disposed to believe in miracles will make the most of them. For there is always a strong temptation in uncritical minds to regard miracles as the best evidence of divine activity. It needs some critical reflection to realize that abnormal events are not in themselves any better evidence of a general overruling of the world than the orderly course of what we call normal events, and that to over-emphasize the miraculous has a dangerous tendency towards excluding God from the ordinary processes of nature and human life.

(2) Yet there is another side of the matter which, in view of much modern opinion, needs even greater emphasis. Whatever exaggeration of the miraculous there may be in the Gospels, it is not really possible to dismiss the miraculous altogether, as an alien intrusion into an historical narrative. The Gospel story is unintelligible without miracle. Miracle is too firmly embedded for it to be possible to reject it entirely while yet holding that the Gospels give us reliable information about the life of Jesus. However far back we press our analysis of the Gospel material, the miraculous element stubbornly remains as a structural part of the story. If we reject miracle, there seems no stopping short of the conclusion that the historical Jesus is irrecoverable and the



THE MIRACLES OF CHRIST. A carved wooden panel from the door of Santa Sabina, Rome, 5th cent. A.D.

Gospels pious fictions. Common sense, revolting against this fantastic conclusion, is driven to question the prejudice against miracle, and to discover that it is quite irrational, except on a non-theistic view of the world. The non-theist is bound to reject miracle and to reject also, if he is consistent, the general trustworthiness of the New Testament account of Christ. But the theist cannot reject miracle as such: it is a logical corollary of divine transcendence, and belongs to the same group of ideas as grace, prayer, free will, and creation. The belief that Christ worked miracles is no more and no less difficult than the belief in His teaching about the existence and nature of God. Granted theism, and granted a unique manifestation of the divine activity in the Incarnation, miracle becomes *a priori* probable; for it is with just such a set of circumstances that we might be expected to catch some exceptional glimpses of divine working, such as the ordinary course of events does not normally allow us to see. Hence, though critical judgement may, on a balance of probabilities, show cause to doubt certain of the miracles recorded in the Gospels, we shall with good reason believe both that Christ's life was accompanied by miracles and that many of the miracles actually recorded are facts of history.

### § 5. *Authorship and Date*

The question of the authorship of the third Gospel has been elaborately discussed in recent biblical studies,[1] with very various results. Tradition, from the second century onwards, unanimously attributes the authorship to Luke, the Greek physician and companion of S. Paul, but some modern scholars have attacked the tradition with great learning and even greater ingenuity. We shall here first state the evidence and then briefly discuss the objections which have been raised.

(1) The Acts, which, it is generally agreed, is by the same

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[1] See Harnack, *Luke the Physician*; Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. ii, pp. 207–359; Streeter, *Four Gospels*, pp. 540 ff.; Cadbury, *Making of Luke–Acts*, ch. xxiii.

author, in the so-called 'we' passages implies that the writer was a companion of S. Paul.[1]

(2) The book has come down to us with the inscription 'According to Luke' (κατὰ Λουκᾶν), which gives us the view taken of its authorship when the canon of the Gospels was formed some time before A.D. 150, and perhaps long before.

(3) Irenaeus, who stands for the traditions of the Church in Asia Minor, Rome, and Gaul in the period 150–200, attributes the Gospel to Luke the physician and companion of S. Paul, who is mentioned in Col. $4^{14}$, Philemon $^{24}$, 2 Tim. $4^{11}$. Irenaeus was Bishop of Lyons and a voluminous writer.

(4) The Muratorian fragment (an annotated list, much mutilated, of the books of the N.T., belonging to the same period as Irenaeus) attributes the third Gospel to 'Luke that physician who after the ascension of Christ, when Paul had taken him with him, . . . composed it from reports'.

LUKE THE PHYSICIAN

The earliest known representation, from a seventh-century painting in an underground basilica in Rome. The bag suspended from his left hand contains four surgical instruments

(5) The book is plainly written by a man of considerable ability and education, such as a Greek physician might well have. Much has been made by Hobart and Harnack[2] of the so-called 'medical language' which they believe can be found in the Lucan writings, and they have used this as an argument for Lucan authorship. The value of this argument, however, is very dubious: it is highly doubtful whether it is not a mere anachronism to speak of 'medical

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[1] See Acts $11^{28}$ (Codex D), $16^{10}$–$16^{17}$, $20^{5}$–$21^{18}$, $27^{1}$–$28^{16}$.

[2] W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke* (1882); Harnack, *op. cit.*

language' in the sense of a technical vocabulary when we are dealing with the writers of antiquity; and in any case the language can be abundantly paralleled in non-medical Greek writers.[1] Yet, though the argument of Hobart and Harnack is unconvincing, we are justified in using the Lucan vocabulary as proving that the author was a man of education: and that is compatible with the view that he was a physician, though it fails to prove it.

(6) The Gospel, as we have it, is anonymous, but it cannot have been originally anonymous. The preface, with its personal note of explanation, makes it practically certain that the author's name was known and that, in all probability, it was affixed to the original roll of manuscript in the usual ancient fashion. If the author's name was known in Church circles towards the end of the first century, and if before the middle of the second century it was officially given as Luke, it is reasonable to suppose that the second-century evidence is more than a mere inference from the Pauline epistles, and is a genuine piece of external evidence. It is quite fantastic to imagine some ingenious scribe, who, confronted with an anonymous gospel, decided to find an author for it, and hunted about in the Pauline epistles till he found a name which seemed likely. There is little doubt that such a scribe would have plumped boldly for S. Paul himself as the author. Apostolic authorship would be in every way preferable, and a very slight change here and there in the text would be all that was needed to create an appearance of versimilitude. Indeed, we learn from Eusebius and S. Jerome that in later times there actually was a belief in the Pauline authorship, based on the phrase 'according to my gospel' (Rom. $2^{16}$; cf. Rom. $16^{25}$, 2 Tim. $2^{8}$).

This evidence for the Lucan authorship is decidedly good, but various attempts have been made to discredit it. The objections are, broadly speaking, four:

(1) The second-century evidence is only inference from the Pauline epistles and the 'we' sections of Acts. We have already

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[1] See the destructive criticism in Cadbury, *Style and Literary Method of Luke*; cf. also *Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. ii, pp. 349–355.

shown reason to reject this idea. 'Such a theory', says Streeter, 'overlooks the fact already noted that the Preface of Luke's Gospel would be meaningless unless its author's name was known to the original readers; while if these were members of a church which already possessed a gospel, the necessity of distinguishing the two would *from the very first* have prevented the names of either being forgotten'.[1]

(2) The 'we' passages are not necessarily the reminiscences of the final editor: e.g. Windisch (in *Beginnings of Christianity*) holds that S. Luke was the diarist, but that he was not the writer of Luke–Acts. But the 'we' passages are certainly intended to imply that the author of Luke–Acts was a companion of S. Paul at certain parts of his journey. If this author was 'faking' the story, why should he restrict the 'we' passages as he does? That he should 'limit his claim to be an eyewitness in this extraordinary way' is, as Streeter justly says, 'quite incredible'. The alternative, that the writer was so careless a bungler as to leave the first person of his source sometimes unchanged while at other times he remembered to change it, is just as incredible; for whoever he was, the man who wrote Luke–Acts was a competent and sensitive craftsman in letters.

(3) There are no traces of Paulinism in the Gospel. That is true, but quite unconvincing as an objection to Lucan authorship.

'Paulinism', in so far as it is to be distinguished from early Christian belief generally, is the personal factor introduced by a great man with a very distinctive personality and a religious experience quite different from that of a non-Jew. The ex-Pharisee, the learned and subtle rabbinist, the rebel against the restrictions of a law once fiercely championed, the victim of Judaizing opposition, necessarily expressed himself in his letters in terms which rose from his own education and experience. Luke, the Gentile physician, had quite a different history; and it is an entirely unwarranted assumption that, because of his devoted service to the great Apostle of the Gentiles, he was bound to reproduce the language of S. Paul in writing his Gospel. In any case his sources were not Paulinist, and he was faithful to them.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 560.

(4) There are discrepancies between Acts and the Epistles of S. Paul, especially in the picture given of S. Paul's relations with S. Peter and S. James. We cannot here detail these discrepancies, but must be content to point out that again the criticism is based on a false assumption. It is one of the most common facts of experience that even men closely associated will give different accounts of the same events; and this is especially true when they differ widely in mentality and previous training. There would be far better ground for suspicion if Acts and the Pauline epistles tallied exactly. Variation, even to the point of occasionally incompatible accounts, is just what does happen when contemporaries record their impressions of things and people. It in no way makes it impossible that Luke, the companion of S. Paul, should have written Luke–Acts.

Considerations of space have made it necessary to state these objections in a very summary way, and the reader is again referred to the critical studies mentioned above for a fuller discussion. In the present writer's opinion the Lucan authorship is well attested and is not shaken by any of the criticisms which have been brought against it.

The question of authorship is perhaps not of the first importance, for the value of the author's work remains unaffected, whether he was S. Luke or another. Yet it is not entirely a matter of indifference. There will always be a desire to know who wrote the great work we have called Luke–Acts. If it was S. Luke, we know something, though not much, about him. We know that he was the beloved Gentile physician who accompanied S. Paul on part of his travels and was with him at Rome, and (since he sends a greeting to Colossae) that he was known in the East. Tradition has added various details, the most likely of which is that he was a native of Antioch: this is stated in a third-century 'Praefatio vel argumentum Lucae' prefixed to the Gospel and by the fourth-century ecclesiastical historian Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 4. 6). Streeter has pointed out that, if we can accept this, it corroborates the Proto-Luke theory; for if we associate

Q with Antioch, it would naturally be the nucleus round which S. Luke gathered his later-acquired material to compose Proto-Luke. Various other theories concerning S. Luke's birthplace have been suggested in modern times. Ramsay[1] has argued for the view that he was the man of Macedonia (Acts $16^{9}$) seen in a dream by S. Paul, and was a native of Philippi. Rackham (in his Westminster Commentary on Acts) suggests that he came from Pisidian Antioch, not the more famous Antioch in Syria. Miss F. M. Stawell, in a paper on 'S. Luke and Virgil' before the International Medical Congress at Oxford 1913, even suggests that he may have been a Roman. But these are speculations which must be left to the reader to follow up if he chooses. Wherever S. Luke came from, there can be no doubt that he was a Gentile: the whole tenor of his work shows that it was written by a Gentile for Gentiles, and S. Paul in Col. $4^{10-14}$ puts Luke's name among those not included in the phrase 'who are of the circumcision'.[2]

The *date* of the gospel cannot be determined with precision, but outside limits can be roughly fixed. In the apocalyptic discourse (Lk. 21) S. Luke deserts Mk. at the point where Mk. contains the prophecy of the appearance of the anti-Christ in the Temple, and has instead a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem. Mk. was probably written about A.D. 65, before the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70; and S. Luke's modification is best explained as due to his knowledge of what happened in 70. Consequently his Gospel was probably not published till after 70.

The other limit depends on the date of Acts, which is variously given by scholars as between A.D. 75–90. The Gospel was doubtless written before Acts: if we date Acts at about 85 we shall probably be not far wrong.[3] The Gospel, then, cannot have been written later than the early 80's, and may have been as early as 75 or even a year or two before that. If, as many scholars think, the fourth evangelist was acquainted with the synoptic Gospels, we can work back from John to much the same date for Lk. John cannot be later than 95, and we shall need quite ten years' interval between John and Lk. On the whole a date about A.D. 80 for Lk. is not unlikely: it cannot well be much later and it may be earlier. Our data are not sufficient for more than this vague and tentative conclusion.

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[1] See his *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*.

[2] For detailed indications see Plummer's commentary, pp. xxxiv–xxxv.

[3] The supposed dependence of Acts on Josephus (who published his *Antiquities* c. A.D. 93) may in my opinion be decisively rejected. See the opinions of Cadbury, *Making of Luke–Acts*, p. 327, and Streeter, *Four Gospels*, p. 557.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following books are a selection from those used in preparing this commentary. Others will be found mentioned in the body of the commentary. I have thought it best to refer mainly to readily accessible English and American authorities. Fuller lists will be found in several of the books here noted.

## 1. COMMENTARIES.

Plummer. *St. Luke* (International Critical Commentary). For years the only first-class commentary on Luke in English. Conservative, and in some respects out of date, but still valuable for its rich stores of learning.

Adeney. *St. Luke* (Century Bible).

Ragg. *Gospel according to St. Luke* (Westminster Commentaries).

Lagrange. *Évangile selon Saint-Luc.* An admirable piece of first-rate scholarship by a learned French Dominican long resident in Jerusalem.

Wellhausen. *Das Evangelium Lucae.*

Easton. *Gospel according to St. Luke.*

Loisy. *Évangiles Synoptiques.*

Montefiore. *Synoptic Gospels.* Gives the point of view of liberal Judaism.

Rawlinson. *Gospel according to St. Mark* (Westminster Commentaries). This excellent commentary on Mk. is essential for the student of Lk.

Micklem. *Gospel according to St. Matthew* (Westminster Commentaries).

Strack and Billerbeck. *Kommentar zum N.T. aus Talmud u. Midrasch.* This monumental work is the great storehouse of information on the Jewish background of the Gospels.

Blunt. *Acts* (Clarendon Bible).

Peake's *Commentary on the Bible.*

Wellhausen. *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien.*

—— *Das Evangelium Marci.*

Loisy. *Évangile selon Luc.* Very subjective.

Creed. *Gospel according to St. Luke* (1930). The latest advanced Commentary on the Greek Text.

Blunt. *Saint Mark* (Clarendon Bible).

Gore, Goudge, and Guillaume. *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture.*

## 2. GENERAL.

Moffatt. *Introduction to the Literature of the N.T.* (3rd edition). Contains full bibliography.

McNeile. *Introduction to the N.T.*

Hawkins. *Horae Synopticae.*

Sanday (editor). *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem.*

Streeter. *Four Gospels.* The most important book on the Gospels in English.

Burkitt. *Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus* (2nd edition).

—— *The Gospel History and its Transmission.*

Taylor. *Virgin Birth.*

—— *Behind the Third Gospel.* A very scholarly study of the Proto-Luke theory.

Harnack. *Luke the Physician.*

Carpenter. *Christianity according to S. Luke.*

Cadbury. *Making of Luke–Acts.* A dispassionate analysis, as readable as it is valuable: unnecessarily negative in places.

Rawlinson. *New Testament Doctrine of the Christ.* Bampton Lectures, largely concerned with Bousset and the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* of critics. Very valuable.

Abrahams. *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels.*

Schweitzer. *Quest of the Historical Jesus.*

Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake. *Beginnings of Christianity,* vols. i and ii. Scholarly work by a team of specialists: marred by some subjective and negative dogmatism.

Hoskyns and Davey. *Riddle of the New Testament.* A most valuable aid to the understanding of the Gospels.

Easton. *Christ in the Gospels.*

# THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. LUKE

*Preface*

1 FORASMUCH as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been [1]fulfilled
2 among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the
3 beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theo-
4 philus; that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the [2]things [3]wherein thou wast instructed.

## THE NATIVITY STORIES

*The Vision of Zacharias*

5 THERE was in the days of Herod, king of Judæa, a certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abijah: and he had a wife of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elisabeth.
6 And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the
7 commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless. And they had no child, because that Elisabeth was barren, and they both were *now* [4]well stricken in years.

8 Now it came to pass, while he executed the priest's office
9 before God in the order of his course, according to the custom of the priest's office, his lot was to enter into the [5]temple of
10 the Lord and burn incense. And the whole multitude of the
11 people were praying without at the hour of incense. And there appeared unto him an angel of the Lord standing on the right
12 side of the altar of incense. And Zacharias was troubled when
13 he saw *him*, and fear fell upon him. But the angel said unto him, Fear not, Zacharias: because thy supplication is heard, and thy wife Elisabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt
14 call his name John. And thou shalt have joy and gladness; and
15 many shall rejoice at his birth. For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and he shall drink no wine nor [6]strong drink;

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[1] Or, *fully established by word of mouth*
[2] Gr. *words.*
[3] Or, *which thou wast taught*
[4] Gr. *advanced in their days.*
[5] Or, *sanctuary*
[6] Gr. *sikera.*

and he shall be filled with the [1]Holy Ghost, even from his
16 mother's womb. And many of the children of Israel shall he
17 turn unto the Lord their God. And he shall [2]go before his face
in the spirit and power of Elijah, to turn the hearts of the
fathers to the children, and the disobedient *to walk* in the
wisdom of the just; to make ready for the Lord a people pre-
18 pared *for him*. And Zacharias said unto the angel, Whereby
shall I know this? for I am an old man, and my wife [3]well
19 stricken in years. And the angel answering said unto him,
I am Gabriel, that stand in the presence of God; and I was sent
20 to speak unto thee, and to bring thee these good tidings. And
behold, thou shalt be silent and not able to speak, until the
day that these things shall come to pass, because thou believedst
21 not my words, which shall be fulfilled in their season. And the
people were waiting for Zacharias, and they marvelled [4]while
22 he tarried in the [5]temple. And when he came out, he could not
speak unto them: and they perceived that he had seen a vision
in the [5]temple: and he continued making signs unto them, and
23 remained dumb. And it came to pass, when the days of his
ministration were fulfilled, he departed unto his house.

24 And after these days Elisabeth his wife conceived; and she
25 hid herself five months, saying, Thus hath the Lord done unto
me in the days wherein he looked upon *me*, to take away my
reproach among men.

### *The Annunciation*

26 Now in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God
27 unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed
to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and
28 the virgin's name was Mary. And he came in unto her, and
said, Hail, thou that art [6]highly favoured, the Lord *is* with
29 thee.[7] But she was greatly troubled at the saying, and cast in
30 her mind what manner of salutation this might be. And the
angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found [8]favour
31 with God. And behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and
32 bring forth a son, and shalt call his name JESUS. He shall be

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[1] Or, *Holy Spirit*: and so throughout this book. [2] Some ancient authorities read *come nigh before his face*. [3] Gr. *advanced in her days*. [4] Or, *at his tarrying* [5] Or, *sanctuary* [6] Or, *endued with grace* [7] Many ancient authorities add *blessed* art *thou among women*. See ver. 42. [8] Or, *grace*

great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High: and the
Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David:
33 and he shall reign over the house of Jacob [1]for ever; and of
34 his kingdom there shall be no end. And Mary said unto the
35 angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man? And the
angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come
upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow
thee: wherefore also [2]that which [3]is to be born [4]shall be called
36 holy, the Son of God. And behold, Elisabeth thy kinswoman,
she also hath conceived a son in her old age: and this is the
37 sixth month with her that [5]was called barren. For no word
38 from God shall be void of power. And Mary said, Behold, the
[6]handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word.
And the angel departed from her.

The hill country of Judah, near Nablus. Mt. Ebal in the distance, Mt. Gerizim on the left

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[1] Gr. *unto the ages.*
[2] Or, *the holy thing which is to be born shall be called the Son of God.*
[3] Or, *is begotten*
[4] Some ancient authorities insert *of thee.*
[5] Or, *is*
[6] Gr. *bondmaid.*

### *Mary's Visit to Elisabeth*

39 And Mary arose in these days and went into the hill country
40 with haste, into a city of Judah; and entered into the house of
41 Zacharias and saluted Elisabeth. And it came to pass, when
Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her
42 womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost; and she
lifted up her voice with a loud cry, and said, Blessed *art* thou
43 among women, and blessed *is* the fruit of thy womb. And
whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come
44 unto me? For behold, when the voice of thy salutation came
45 into mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy. And
blessed *is* she that [1]believed; for there shall be a fulfilment of
the things which have been spoken to her from the Lord.
46 And Mary said,

My soul doth magnify the Lord,
47 And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.
48 For he hath looked upon the low estate of his [2]handmaiden:
For behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.
49 For he that is mighty hath done to me great things;
And holy is his name.
50 And his mercy is unto generations and generations
On them that fear him.
51 He hath shewed strength with his arm;
He hath scattered the proud [3]in the imagination of their heart.
52 He hath put down princes from *their* thrones,
And hath exalted them of low degree.
53 The hungry he hath filled with good things;
And the rich he hath sent empty away.
54 He hath holpen Israel his servant,
That he might remember mercy
55 (As he spake unto our fathers)
Toward Abraham and his seed for ever.

56 And Mary abode with her about three months, and returned unto her house.

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[1] Or, *believed that there shall be*

[2] Gr. *bondmaiden.*

[3] Or, *by*

*The Birth, Circumcision, and Early Life of John*

57 Now Elisabeth's time was fulfilled that she should be de-
58 livered; and she brought forth a son. And her neighbours and
her kinsfolk heard that the Lord had magnified his mercy
59 towards her; and they rejoiced with her. And it came to pass
on the eighth day, that they came to circumcise the child; and
they would have called him Zacharias, after the name of his
60 father. And his mother answered and said, Not so; but he shall
61 be called John. And they said unto her, There is none of thy
62 kindred that is called by this name. And they made signs to
63 his father, what he would have him called. And he asked for
a writing tablet, and wrote, saying, His name is John. And
64 they marvelled all. And his mouth was opened immediately,
65 and his tongue *loosed*, and he spake, blessing God. And fear
came on all that dwelt round about them: and all these sayings
were noised abroad throughout all the hill country of Judæa.
66 And all that heard them laid them up in their heart, saying,
What then shall this child be? For the hand of the Lord was
with him.

67 And his father Zacharias was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied, saying,

68 Blessed *be* the Lord, the God of Israel;
For he hath visited and wrought redemption for his people,
69 And hath raised up a horn of salvation for us
In the house of his servant David
70 (As he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets which have been since the world began),
71 Salvation from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us;
72 To shew mercy towards our fathers,
And to remember his holy covenant;
73 The oath which he sware unto Abraham our father,
74 To grant unto us that we being delivered out of the hand of our enemies
Should serve him without fear,
75 In holiness and righteousness before him all our days.
76 Yea and thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Most High:
For thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to make ready his ways;

77 To give knowledge of salvation unto his people
In the remission of their sins,
78 Because of the [1]tender mercy of our God,
[2]Whereby the dayspring from on high [3]shall visit us,
79 To shine upon them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death;
To guide our feet into the way of peace.

80 And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his shewing unto Israel.

### *The Birth of Christ*

2 Now it came to pass in those days, there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all [4]the world should be enrolled.
2 This was the first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor
3 of Syria. And all went to enrol themselves, every one to his
4 own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judæa, to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, because he was of the house and family of David;
5 to enrol himself with Mary, who was betrothed to him, being
6 great with child. And it came to pass, while they were there,
7 the days were fulfilled that she should be delivered. And she brought forth her firstborn son; and she wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn.

8 And there were shepherds in the same country abiding in
9 the field, and keeping [5]watch by night over their flock. And an angel of the Lord stood by them, and the glory of the Lord
10 shone round about them: and they were sore afraid. And the angel said unto them, Be not afraid; for behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all the people:
11 for there is born to you this day in the city of David a Saviour,
12 which is [6]Christ the Lord. And this *is* the sign unto you; Ye shall find a babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, and lying in
13 a manger. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying,

14 Glory to God in the highest,
And on earth [7]peace among [8]men in whom he is well pleased.

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[1] Or, *heart of mercy* [2] Or, *Wherein* [3] Many ancient authorities read *hath visited us.* [4] Gr. *the inhabited earth.* [5] Or, *night-watches* [6] Or, *Anointed Lord* [7] Many ancient authorities read *peace, good pleasure among men.* [8] Gr. *men of good pleasure.*

15 And it came to pass, when the angels went away from them into heaven, the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this [1]thing that is come to
16 pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us. And they came with haste, and found both Mary and Joseph, and the
17 babe lying in the manger. And when they saw it, they made known concerning the saying which was spoken to them about
18 this child. And all that heard it wondered at the things which
19 were spoken unto them by the shepherds. But Mary kept all
20 these [2]sayings, pondering them in her heart. And the shepherds returned, glorifying and praising God for all the things that they had heard and seen, even as it was spoken unto them.

The Roman government in Syria. The remains of a Roman road

### *The Circumcision and Presentation in the Temple*

21 And when eight days were fulfilled for circumcising him, his name was called JESUS, which was so called by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.

22 And when the days of their purification according to the law of Moses were fulfilled, they brought him up to Jerusalem, to
23 present him to the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord,

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[1] Or, *saying* [2] Or, *things*

Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the
24 Lord), and to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said
in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtledoves, or two young
25 pigeons. And behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose
name was Simeon; and this man was righteous and devout,
looking for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Spirit was
26 upon him. And it had been revealed unto him by the Holy
Spirit, that he should not see death, before he had seen the
27 Lord's Christ. And he came in the Spirit into the temple: and
when the parents brought in the child Jesus, that they might
28 do concerning him after the custom of the law, then he received
him into his arms, and blessed God, and said,

29 Now lettest thou thy [1]servant depart, O [2]Lord,
According to thy word, in peace;
30 For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,
31 Which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples;
32 A light for [3]revelation to the Gentiles,
And the glory of thy people Israel.

33 And his father and his mother were marvelling at the things
34 which were spoken concerning him; and Simeon blessed them,
and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this *child* is set for the
falling and rising up of many in Israel; and for a sign which is
35 spoken against; yea and a sword shall pierce through thine own
36 soul; that thoughts out of many hearts may be revealed. And
there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of
the tribe of Asher (she was [4]of a great age, having lived with
37 a husband seven years from her virginity, and she had been
a widow even for fourscore and four years), which departed not
from the temple, worshipping with fastings and supplications
38 night and day. And coming up at that very hour she gave
thanks unto God, and spake of him to all them that were look-
39 ing for the redemption of Jerusalem. And when they had
accomplished all things that were according to the law of the
Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.

40 And the child grew, and waxed strong, [5]filled with wisdom:
and the grace of God was upon him.

### *The Child Jesus in the Temple*

41 And his parents went every year to Jerusalem at the feast

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[1] Gr. *bondservant.* [2] Gr. *Master.* [3] Or, *the unveiling of the Gentiles*
[4] Gr. *advanced in many days.* [5] Gr. *becoming full of wisdom.*

42 of the passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went
43 up after the custom of the feast; and when they had fulfilled
the days, as they were returning, the boy Jesus tarried behind
44 in Jerusalem; and his parents knew it not; but supposing him
to be in the company, they went a day's journey; and they
45 sought for him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance: and

NAZARETH. The Virgin's Well

when they found him not, they returned to Jerusalem, seeking
46 for him. And it came to pass, after three days they found him
in the temple, sitting in the midst of the [1]doctors, both hearing
47 them, and asking them questions: and all that heard him were
48 amazed at his understanding and his answers. And when they
saw him, they were astonished: and his mother said unto him,
[2]Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and
49 I sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them, How is it that
ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be [3]in my Father's

[1] Or, *teachers* [2] Gr. *Child.* [3] Or, *about my Father's business* Gr. *in the things of my Father.*

50 house? And they understood not the saying which he spake
51 unto them. And he went down with them, and came to
Nazareth; and he was subject unto them: and his mother kept
all *these* [1]sayings in her heart.

52 And Jesus advanced in wisdom and [2]stature, and in [3]favour
with God and men.

## THE PREPARATION

### *The Mission of John the Baptist. The Baptism of Jesus*

3 Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar,
Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod being
tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of the region
of Ituræa and Trachonitis, and Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene,
2 in the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, the word of God
3 came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness. And
he came into all the region round about Jordan, preaching the
4 baptism of repentance unto remission of sins; as it is written
in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet,

The voice of one crying in the wilderness,
Make ye ready the way of the Lord,
Make his paths straight.
5 Every valley shall be filled,
And every mountain and hill shall be brought low;
And the crooked shall become straight,
And the rough ways smooth;
6 And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

7 He said therefore to the multitudes that went out to be
baptized of him, Ye offspring of vipers, who warned you to
8 flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits
worthy of [4]repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves,
We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God
is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.
9 And even now is the axe also laid unto the root of the trees:
every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn
10 down, and cast into the fire. And the multitudes asked him,
11 saying, What then must we do? And he answered and said
unto them, He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that
12 hath none; and he that hath food, let him do likewise. And

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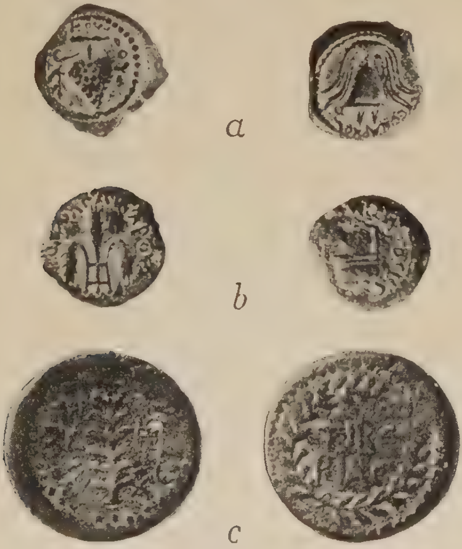
[1] Or, *things* [2] Or, *age* [3] Or, *grace* [4] Or, *your repentance*

there came also [1]publicans to be baptized, and they said unto
13 him, [2]Master, what must we do? And he said unto them,
14 Extort no more than that which is appointed you. And
[3]soldiers also asked him, saying, And we, what must we do?



COINS OF ROMAN GOVERNORS

*a.* Coin of Herod Archelaus. O. Bunch of grapes and inscription ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. R. Crested helmet and inscription ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟ. *b.* Coin of Pontius Pilate. O. Three ears of barley and inscription ΙΟΥΛΙΑΚΑΙCΑΡΟC. R. Vessel with handle and inscription . . . ΑΙCΑΡΟCΑΙS. *c.* Coin of Herod Antipas. O. Palm-branch and inscription ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧ. R. Wreath and inscription ΤΙΒΕΡΙΑC

And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither [4]exact *anything* wrongfully; and be content with your wages.

15 And as the people were in expectation, and all men reasoned
in their hearts concerning John, whether haply he were the
16 Christ; John answered, saying unto them all, I indeed baptize

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[1] See marginal note on Matt. v. 46. [2] Or, *Teacher* [3] Gr. *soldiers on service.* [4] Or, *accuse* any one

you with water; but there cometh he that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not [1]worthy to unloose: he shall
17 baptize you [2]with the Holy Ghost and *with* fire: whose fan is in his hand, throughly to cleanse his threshing-floor, and to gather the wheat into his garner; but the chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire.

18 With many other exhortations therefore preached he [3]good
19 tidings unto the people; but Herod the tetrarch, being reproved by him for Herodias his brother's wife, and for all the evil
20 things which Herod had done, added yet this above all, that he shut up John in prison.

21 Now it came to pass, when all the people were baptized, that, Jesus also having been baptized, and praying, the heaven
22 was opened, and the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily form, as a dove, upon him, and a voice came out of heaven, Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased.

*The Genealogy*

23 And Jesus himself, when he began *to teach*, was about thirty years of age, being the son (as was supposed) of Joseph, the
24 *son* of Heli, the *son* of Matthat, the *son* of Levi, the *son* of
25 Melchi, the *son* of Jannai, the *son* of Joseph, the *son* of Mattathias, the *son* of Amos, the *son* of Nahum, the *son* of Esli, the
26 *son* of Naggai, the *son* of Maath, the *son* of Mattathias, the *son*
27 of Semein, the *son* of Josech, the *son* of Joda, the *son* of Joanan, the *son* of Rhesa, the *son* of Zerubbabel, the *son* of [4]Shealtiel,
28 the *son* of Neri, the *son* of Melchi, the *son* of Addi, the *son* of
29 Cosam, the *son* of Elmadam, the *son* of Er, the *son* of Jesus, the *son* of Eliezer, the *son* of Jorim, the *son* of Matthat, the *son* of
30 Levi, the *son* of Symeon, the *son* of Judas, the *son* of Joseph,
31 the *son* of Jonam, the *son* of Eliakim, the *son* of Melea, the *son* of Menna, the *son* of Mattatha, the *son* of Nathan, the *son* of
32 David, the *son* of Jesse, the *son* of Obed, the *son* of Boaz, the
33 *son* of [5]Salmon, the *son* of Nahshon, the *son* of Amminadab, [6]the *son* of [7]Arni, the *son* of Hezron, the *son* of Perez, the *son*
34 of Judah, the *son* of Jacob, the *son* of Isaac, the *son* of Abraham,
35 the *son* of Terah, the *son* of Nahor, the *son* of Serug, the *son* of

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[1] Gr. *sufficient.* [2] Or, *in* [3] Or, *the gospel* [4] Gr. *Salathiel.*

[5] Some ancient authorities write *Sala.* [6] Many ancient authorities insert *the* son *of Admin*: and one writes *Admin* for *Amminadab.* [7] Some ancient authorities write *Aram.*

An Eastern threshing-floor

36 Reu, the *son* of Peleg, the *son* of Eber, the *son* of Shelah, the *son* of Cainan, the *son* of Arphaxad, the *son* of Shem, the *son*
37 of Noah, the *son* of Lamech, the *son* of Methuselah, the *son* of Enoch, the *son* of Jared, the *son* of Mahalaleel, the *son* of
38 Cainan, the *son* of Enos, the *son* of Seth, the *son* of Adam, the *son* of God.

### *The Temptation*

4 And Jesus, full of the Holy Spirit, returned from the Jordan, and was led [1]by the Spirit in the wilderness during
2 forty days, being tempted of the devil. And he did eat nothing in those days: and when they were completed, he hungered.
3 And the devil said unto him, If thou art the Son of God, com-
4 mand this stone that it become [2]bread. And Jesus answered unto him, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone.
5 And he led him up, and shewed him all the kingdoms of [3]the
6 world in a moment of time. And the devil said unto him, To thee will I give all this authority, and the glory of them: for it hath been delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I
7 give it. If thou therefore wilt worship before me, it shall all
8 be thine. And Jesus answered and said unto him, It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou
9 serve. And he led him to Jerusalem, and set him on the [4]pinnacle of the temple, and said unto him, If thou art the Son
10 of God, cast thyself down from hence: for it is written,

> He shall give his angels charge concerning thee, to guard thee:

11 and,

> On their hands they shall bear thee up,
> Lest haply thou dash thy foot against a stone.

12 And Jesus answering said unto him, It is said, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

13 And when the devil had completed every temptation, he departed from him [5]for a season.

## THE GALILÆAN MINISTRY

### *The Ministry Begins*

14 And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee: and a fame went out concerning him through all the region round
15 about. And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all.

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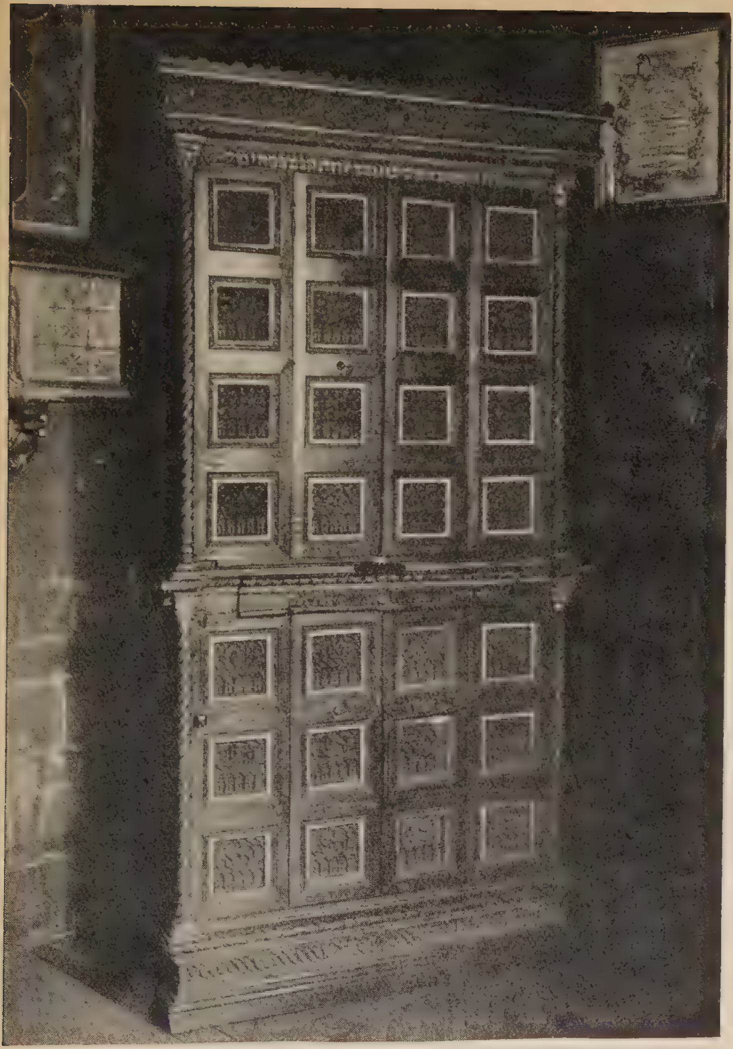
[1] Or, *in* [2] Or, *a loaf* [3] Gr. *the inhabited earth.* [4] Gr. *wing.* [5] Or, *until*



And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Isaiah.' A fifteenth-century carved walnut shrine for the rolls of the scriptures, made for a Jewish synagogue at Modena. Such shrines or arks have from a very early date formed the main part of the furniture of a Synagogue

*The Rejection at Nazareth*

16 And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up:
and he entered, as his custom was, into the synagogue on the
17 sabbath day, and stood up to read. And there was delivered
unto him [1]the book of the prophet Isaiah. And he opened the
[2]book, and found the place where it was written,

18 The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
[3]Because he anointed me to preach [4]good tidings to the poor:
He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives,
And recovering of sight to the blind,
To set at liberty them that are bruised,
19 To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

20 And he closed the [2]book, and gave it back to the attendant, and
sat down: and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fastened
21 on him. And he began to say unto them, To-day hath this
22 scripture been fulfilled in your ears. And all bare him witness,
and wondered at the words of grace which proceeded out of
23 his mouth: and they said, Is not this Joseph's son? And
he said unto them, Doubtless ye will say unto me this parable,
Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever we have heard done at
24 Capernaum, do also here in thine own country. And he said,
Verily I say unto you, No prophet is acceptable in his own
25 country. But of a truth I say unto you, There were many
widows in Israel in the days of Elijah, when the heaven was
shut up three years and six months, when there came a great
26 famine over all the land; and unto none of them was Elijah
sent, but only to [5]Zarephath, in the land of Sidon, unto a
27 woman that was a widow. And there were many lepers in
Israel in the time of Elisha the prophet; and none of them was
28 cleansed, but only Naaman the Syrian. And they were all filled
29 with wrath in the synagogue, as they heard these things; and
they rose up, and cast him forth out of the city, and led him
unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they
30 might throw him down headlong. But he passing through the
midst of them went his way.

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[1] Or, *a roll* [2] Or, *roll* [3] Or, *Wherefore* [4] Or, *the gospel*
[5] Gr. *Sarepta.*

### *A Sabbath at Capernaum*

31 And he came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee. And he
32 was teaching them on the sabbath day: and they were astonished
33 at his teaching; for his word was with authority. And in the
synagogue there was a man, which had a spirit of an unclean
34 [1]devil; and he cried out with a loud voice, [2]Ah! what have we
to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to
destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.
35 And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out
of him. And when the [1]devil had thrown him down in the
36 midst, he came out of him, having done him no hurt. And
amazement came upon all, and they spake together, one with
another, saying, What is [3]this word? for with authority and
power he commandeth the unclean spirits, and they come out.
37 And there went forth a rumour concerning him into every place
of the region round about.

38 And he rose up from the synagogue, and entered into the
house of Simon. And Simon's wife's mother was holden with
39 a great fever; and they besought him for her. And he stood
over her, and rebuked the fever; and it left her: and immediately
she rose up and ministered unto them.

40 And when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick
with divers diseases brought them unto him; and he laid his
41 hands on every one of them, and healed them. And [4]devils also
came out from many, crying out, and saying, Thou art the
Son of God. And rebuking them, he suffered them not to speak,
because they knew that he was the Christ.

42 And when it was day, he came out and went into a desert
place: and the multitudes sought after him, and came unto
him, and would have stayed him, that he should not go from
43 them. But he said unto them, I must preach the [5]good tidings
of the kingdom of God to the other cities also: for therefore
was I sent.

44 And he was preaching in the synagogues of [6]Galilee.

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[1] Gr. *demon.* [2] Or, *Let alone* [3] Or, *this word, that with authority . . . come out?* [4] Gr. *demons.* [5] Or, *gospel* [6] Very many ancient authorities read *Judæa.*

### *The Call of Peter, James, and John*

5 Now it came to pass, while the multitude pressed upon him
and heard the word of God, that he was standing by the lake
2 of Gennesaret; and he saw two boats standing by the lake:
but the fishermen had gone out of them, and were washing their
3 nets. And he entered into one of the boats, which was Simon's,
and asked him to put out a little from the land. And he sat
4 down and taught the multitudes out of the boat. And when he
had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Put out into the deep,
5 and let down your nets for a draught. And Simon answered and
said, Master, we toiled all night, and took nothing: but at thy
6 word I will let down the nets. And when they had this done,
they inclosed a great multitude of fishes; and their nets were
7 breaking; and they beckoned unto their partners in the other
boat, that they should come and help them. And they came,
8 and filled both the boats, so that they began to sink. But Simon
Peter, when he saw it, fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart
9 from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord. For he was amazed,
and all that were with him, at the draught of the fishes which
10 they had taken; and so were also James and John, sons of
Zebedee, which were partners with Simon. And Jesus said unto
11 Simon, Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt [1]catch men. And
when they had brought their boats to land, they left all, and
followed him.

### *Two Healings. Opposition begins*

12 And it came to pass, while he was in one of the cities, behold,
a man full of leprosy: and when he saw Jesus, he fell on his
face, and besought him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst
13 make me clean. And he stretched forth his hand, and touched
him, saying, I will; be thou made clean. And straightway the
14 leprosy departed from him. And he charged him to tell no
man: but go thy way, and shew thyself to the priest, and offer
for thy cleansing, according as Moses commanded, for a testi-
15 mony unto them. But so much the more went abroad the
report concerning him: and great multitudes came together
16 to hear, and to be healed of their infirmities. But he withdrew
himself in the deserts, and prayed.

17 And it came to pass on one of those days, that he was

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[1] Gr. *take alive.*

teaching; and there were Pharisees and doctors of the law sitting by, which were come out of every village of Galilee and Judæa and Jerusalem: and the power of the Lord was with him
18 [1]to heal. And behold, men bring on a bed a man that was palsied: and they sought to bring him in, and to lay him before
19 him. And not finding by what *way* they might bring him in because of the multitude, they went up to the housetop, and let him down through the tiles with his couch into the midst
20 before Jesus. And seeing their faith, he said, Man, thy sins are
21 forgiven thee. And the scribes and the Pharisees began to reason, saying, Who is this that speaketh blasphemies? Who
22 can forgive sins, but God alone? But Jesus perceiving their reasonings, answered and said unto them, [2]What reason ye in
23 your hearts? Whether is easier, to say, Thy sins are forgiven
24 thee; or to say, Arise and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath [3]power on earth to forgive sins (he said unto him that was palsied), I say unto thee, Arise, and take
25 up thy couch, and go unto thy house. And immediately he rose up before them, and took up that whereon he lay, and departed
26 to his house, glorifying God. And amazement took hold on all, and they glorified God; and they were filled with fear, saying, We have seen strange things to-day.

### *The Call of Levi*

27 And after these things he went forth, and beheld a publican, named Levi, sitting at the place of toll, and said unto him,
28 Follow me. And he forsook all, and rose up and followed him.
29 And Levi made him a great feast in his house: and there was a great multitude of publicans and of others that were sitting at
30 meat with them. And [4]the Pharisees and their scribes murmured against his disciples, saying, Why do ye eat and drink
31 with the publicans and sinners? And Jesus answering said unto them, They that are whole have no need of a physician;
32 but they that are sick. I am not come to call the righteous but
33 sinners to repentance. And they said unto him, The disciples of John fast often, and make supplications; likewise also the
34 *disciples* of the Pharisees; but thine eat and drink. And Jesus said unto them, Can ye make the sons of the bride-chamber

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[1] Gr. *that he should heal.* Many ancient authorities read *that* he *should heal them.* [2] Or, *Why* [3] Or, *authority* [4] Or, *the Pharisees and the scribes among them*

35 fast, while the bridegroom is with them? But the days will
come; and when the bridegroom shall be taken away from
36 them, then will they fast in those days. And he spake also a
parable unto them; No man rendeth a piece from a new garment and putteth it upon an old garment; else he will rend the
new, and also the piece from the new will not agree with the
37 old. And no man putteth new wine into old [1]wine-skins; else
the new wine will burst the skins, and itself will be spilled, and
38 the skins will perish. But new wine must be put into fresh
wine-skins. And no man having drunk old *wine* desireth new:
for he saith, The old is [2]good.

### *The Growth of Opposition*

6 Now it came to pass on a [3]sabbath, that he was going
through the cornfields; and his disciples plucked the ears of
2 corn, and did eat, rubbing them in their hands. But certain of
the Pharisees said, Why do ye that which it is not lawful to
3 do on the sabbath day? And Jesus answering them said, Have
ye not read even this, what David did, when he was an hungred,
4 he, and they that were with him; how he entered into the house
of God, and did take and eat the shewbread, and gave also to
them that were with him; which it is not lawful to eat save for
5 the priests alone? And he said unto them, The Son of man is
lord of the sabbath.

6 And it came to pass on another sabbath, that he entered into
the synagogue and taught: and there was a man there, and his
7 right hand was withered. And the scribes and the Pharisees
watched him, whether he would heal on the sabbath; that they
8 might find how to accuse him. But he knew their thoughts;
and he said to the man that had his hand withered, Rise up,
and stand forth in the midst. And he arose and stood forth.
9 And Jesus said unto them, I ask you, Is it lawful on the sabbath
to do good, or to do harm? to save a life, or to destroy it?
10 And he looked round about on them all, and said unto him,
Stretch forth thy hand. And he did *so*: and his hand was
11 restored. But they were filled with [4]madness; and communed
one with another what they might do to Jesus.

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[1] That is, *skins used as bottles*.
[2] Many ancient authorities read *better*.
[3] Many ancient authorities insert *second-first*.
[4] Or, *foolishness*

### *The Choosing of the Twelve*

12 And it came to pass in these days, that he went out into the
mountain to pray; and he continued all night in prayer to God.
13 And when it was day, he called his disciples: and he chose from
14 them twelve, whom also he named apostles; Simon, whom he
also named Peter, and Andrew his brother, and James and
15 John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and Matthew and Thomas,
and James *the son* of Alphæus, and Simon which was called the
16 Zealot, and Judas *the* [1]*son* of James, and Judas Iscariot, which
17 was the traitor; and he came down with them, and stood on
a level place, and a great multitude of his disciples, and a great
number of the people from all Judæa and Jerusalem, and the
sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, which came to hear him, and to
18 be healed of their diseases; and they that were troubled with
19 unclean spirits were healed. And all the multitude sought to
touch him: for power came forth from him, and healed *them* all.

### *The Great Sermon*

20 And he lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said, Blessed
21 *are* ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God. Blessed *are* ye
that hunger now: for ye shall be filled. Blessed *are* ye that
22 weep now: for ye shall laugh. Blessed are ye, when men shall
hate you, and when they shall separate you *from their company*,
and reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son
23 of man's sake. Rejoice in that day, and leap *for joy*: for behold,
your reward is great in heaven: for in the same manner did
24 their fathers unto the prophets. But woe unto you that are
25 rich! for ye have received your consolation. Woe unto you, ye
that are full now! for ye shall hunger. Woe *unto you*, ye that
26 laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep. Woe *unto you*, when
all men shall speak well of you! for in the same manner did
their fathers to the false prophets.

27 But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good
28 to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for
29 them that despitefully use you. To him that smiteth thee on
the *one* cheek offer also the other; and from him that taketh
30 away thy cloke withhold not thy coat also. Give to every one
that asketh thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask
31 them not again. And as ye would that men should do to you,
32 do ye also to them likewise. And if ye love them that love you,

[1] Or, brother. See Jude 1.

what thank have ye? for even sinners love those that love
33 them. And if ye do good to them that do good to you, what
34 thank have ye? for even sinners do the same. And if ye lend
to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? even
35 sinners lend to sinners, to receive again as much. But love your
enemies, and do *them* good, and lend, [1]never despairing; and
your reward shall be great, and ye shall be sons of the Most
36 High: for he is kind toward the unthankful and evil. Be ye
37 merciful, even as your Father is merciful. And judge not, and
ye shall not be judged: and condemn not, and ye shall not be
38 condemned: release, and ye shall be released: give, and it shall
be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, shaken
together, running over, shall they give into your bosom. For
with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.

39 And he spake also a parable unto them, Can the blind guide
40 the blind? shall they not both fall into a pit? The disciple is
not above his [2]master: but every one when he is perfected shall
41 be as his [2]master. And why beholdest thou the mote that is in
thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine
42 own eye? Or how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let
me cast out the mote that is in thine eye, when thou thyself
beholdest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then
shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy
43 brother's eye. For there is no good tree that bringeth forth
corrupt fruit; nor again a corrupt tree that bringeth forth good
44 fruit. For each tree is known by its own fruit. For of thorns
men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they
45 grapes. The good man out of the good treasure of his heart
bringeth forth that which is good; and the evil *man* out of the
evil *treasure* bringeth forth that which is evil: for out of the
abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh.

46 And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which
47 I say? Every one that cometh unto me, and heareth my words,
48 and doeth them, I will shew you to whom he is like: he is like
a man building a house, who digged and went deep, and laid
a foundation upon the rock: and when a flood arose, the stream
brake against that house, and could not shake it: [3]because it

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[1] Some ancient authorities read *despairing of no man*. [2] Or, *teacher*
[3] Many ancient authorities read *for it had been founded upon the rock*: as in Matt. vii. 25.

49 had been well builded. But he that heareth, and doeth not, is like a man that built a house upon the earth without a foundation; against which the stream brake, and straightway it fell in; and the ruin of that house was great.

*Two Mighty Works at Capernaum and Nain*

7 After he had ended all his sayings in the ears of the people, he entered into Capernaum.

2 And a certain centurion's [1]servant, who was [2]dear unto him,
3 was sick and at the point of death. And when he heard concerning Jesus, he sent unto him elders of the Jews, asking him
4 that he would come and save his [1]servant. And they, when they came to Jesus, besought him earnestly, saying, He is
5 worthy that thou shouldest do this for him: for he loveth our
6 nation, and himself built us our synagogue. And Jesus went with them. And when he was now not far from the house, the centurion sent friends to him, saying unto him, Lord, trouble not thyself: for I am not [3]worthy that thou shouldest come
7 under my roof: wherefore neither thought I myself worthy to come unto thee: but [4]say the word, and my [5]servant shall be
8 healed. For I also am a man set under authority, having under myself soldiers: and I say to this one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my [1]servant, Do this,
9 and he doeth it. And when Jesus heard these things, he marvelled at him, and turned and said unto the multitude that followed him, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith,
10 no, not in Israel. And they that were sent, returning to the house, found the [1]servant whole.

11 And it came to pass [6]soon afterwards, that he went to a city called Nain; and his disciples went with him, and a great multi-
12 tude. Now when he drew near to the gate of the city, behold, there was carried out one that was dead, the only son of his mother, and she was a widow: and much people of the city
13 was with her. And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion
14 on her, and said unto her, Weep not. And he came nigh and touched the bier: and the bearers stood still. And he said,
15 Young man, I say unto thee, Arise. And he that was dead sat up, and began to speak. And he gave him to his mother.

[1] Gr. *bond-servant.* [2] Or, *precious to him* Or, *honourable with him* [3] Gr. *sufficient.* [4] Gr. *say with a word.* [5] Or, *boy* [6] Many ancient authorities read *on the next day.*

16 And fear took hold on all: and they glorified God, saying, A
great prophet is arisen among us: and, God hath visited his
17 people. And this report went forth concerning him in the whole
of Judæa, and all the region round about.

### *Jesus and John the Baptist*

18 And the disciples of John told him of all these things. And
19 John calling unto him [1]two of his disciples sent them to the
Lord, saying, Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another?
20 And when the men were come unto him, they said, John the
Baptist hath sent us unto thee, saying, Art thou he that cometh,
21 or look we for another? In that hour he cured many of diseases
and [2]plagues and evil spirits; and on many that were blind
22 he bestowed sight. And he answered and said unto them, Go
your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard;
the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are
cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor
23 have [3]good tidings preached to them. And blessed is he, whosoever
shall find none occasion of stumbling in me.

24 And when the messengers of John were departed, he began
to say unto the multitudes concerning John, What went ye out
into the wilderness to behold? a reed shaken with the wind?
25 But what went ye out to see? a man clothed in soft raiment?
Behold, they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately,
26 are in kings' courts. But what went ye out to see?
a prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and much more than a prophet.
27 This is he of whom it is written,

> Behold, I send my messenger before thy face,
> Who shall prepare thy way before thee.

28 I say unto you, Among them that are born of women there is
none greater than John: yet he that is [4]but little in the kingdom
29 of God is greater than he. And all the people when they heard,
and the publicans, justified God, [5]being baptized with the
30 baptism of John. But the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected
for themselves the counsel of God, [6]being not baptized of him.
31 Whereunto then shall I liken the men of this generation, and
32 to what are they like? They are like unto children that sit
in the marketplace, and call one to another; which say, We
piped unto you, and ye did not dance; we wailed, and ye did

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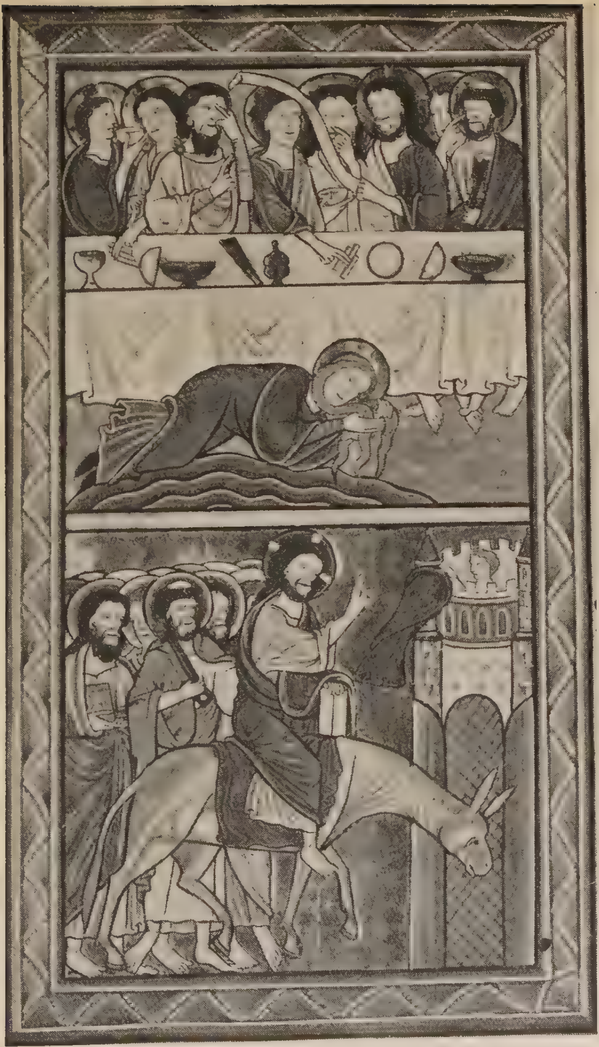
[1] Gr. *certain two.* [2] Gr. *scourges.* [3] Or, *the gospel* [4] Gr. *lesser.* [5] Or, *having been* [6] Or, *not having been*



Gospel scenes in a MS. of the thirteenth century. Above, the woman with the cruse of ointment. Below, the entry into Jerusalem

33 not weep. For John the Baptist is come eating no bread nor
34 drinking wine; and ye say, He hath a [1]devil. The Son of man is
come eating and drinking; and ye say, Behold, a gluttonous
35 man, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners! And
wisdom [2]is justified of all her children.

### *The Woman who was a Sinner*

36 And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with
him. And he entered into the Pharisee's house, and sat down
37 to meat. And behold, a woman which was in the city, a sinner;
and when she knew that he was sitting at meat in the Pharisee's
38 house, she brought [3]an alabaster cruse of ointment, and standing
behind at his feet, weeping, she began to wet his feet with
her tears, and wiped them with the hair of her head, and [4]kissed
39 his feet, and anointed them with the ointment. Now when the
Pharisee which had bidden him saw it, he spake within himself,
saying, This man, if he were [5]a prophet, would have perceived
who and what manner of woman this is which toucheth him,
40 that she is a sinner. And Jesus answering said unto him, Simon,
I have somewhat to say unto thee. And he saith, [6]Master, say
41 on. A certain lender had two debtors: the one owed five hundred
42 [7]pence, and the other fifty. When they had not *wherewith*
to pay, he forgave them both. Which of them therefore will
43 love him most? Simon answered and said, He, I suppose, to
whom he forgave the most. And he said unto him, Thou hast
44 rightly judged. And turning to the woman, he said unto
Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house,
thou gavest me no water for my feet: but she hath wetted my
45 feet with her tears, and wiped them with her hair. Thou gavest
me no kiss: but she, since the time I came in, hath not ceased
46 to [8]kiss my feet. My head with oil thou didst not anoint: but
47 she hath anointed my feet with ointment. Wherefore I say
unto thee, Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she
loved much: but to whom little is forgiven, *the same* loveth
48 little. And he said unto her, Thy sins are forgiven. And they
49 that sat at meat with him began to say [9]within themselves,
50 Who is this that even forgiveth sins? And he said unto the
woman, Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.

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[1] Gr. *demon.* [2] Or, *was* [3] Or, *a flask* [4] Gr. *kissed much.* [5] Some ancient authorities read *the prophet.* See John i. 21, 25. [6] Or, *Teacher* [7] See marginal note on Matt. xviii. 28. [8] Gr. *kiss much.* [9] Or, *among*

### *Mission Journeys*

8 And it came to pass soon afterwards, that he went about
through cities and villages, preaching and bringing the [1]good
2 tidings of the kingdom of God, and with him the twelve, and
certain women which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities,
Mary that was called Magdalene, from whom seven
3 [2]devils had gone out, and Joanna the wife of Chuza Herod's
steward, and Susanna, and many others, which ministered
unto [3]them of their substance.

### *Parable of the Sower and Other Sayings*

4 And when a great multitude came together, and they of
5 every city resorted unto him, he spake by a parable: The
sower went forth to sow his seed: and as he sowed, some fell
by the way side; and it was trodden under foot, and the birds
6 of the heaven devoured it. And other fell on the rock; and as
soon as it grew, it withered away, because it had no moisture.
7 And other fell amidst the thorns; and the thorns grew with it,
8 and choked it. And other fell into the good ground, and grew,
and brought forth fruit a hundredfold. As he said these things,
he cried, He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

9 And his disciples asked him what this parable might be.
10 And he said, Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the
kingdom of God: but to the rest in parables; that seeing they
11 may not see, and hearing they may not understand. Now the
12 parable is this: The seed is the word of God. And those by the
way side are they that have heard; then cometh the devil, and
taketh away the word from their heart, that they may not
13 believe and be saved. And those on the rock *are* they which,
when they have heard, receive the word with joy; and these
have no root, which for a while believe, and in time of temptation
14 fall away. And that which fell among the thorns, these
are they that have heard, and as they go on their way they are
choked with cares and riches and pleasures of *this* life, and
15 bring no fruit to perfection. And that in the good ground,
these are such as in an honest and good heart, having heard
the word, hold it fast, and bring forth fruit with patience.

And no man, when he hath lighted a lamp, covereth it with
a vessel, or putteth it under a bed; but putteth it on a stand,
17 that they which enter in may see the light. For nothing is

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[1] Or, *gospel* [2] Gr. *demons.* [3] Many ancient authorities read *him.*

hid, that shall not be made manifest; nor *anything* secret, that
18 shall not be known and come to light. Take heed therefore
how ye hear: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given; and
whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that
which he [1]thinketh he hath.

19 And there came to him his mother and brethren, and they
20 could not come at him for the crowd. And it was told him,
Thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to see
21 thee. But he answered and said unto them, My mother and
my brethren are these which hear the word of God, and do it.

### *Mighty Works*

22 Now it came to pass on one of those days, that he entered
into a boat, himself and his disciples; and he said unto them,
Let us go over unto the other side of the lake: and they launched
23 forth. But as they sailed he fell asleep: and there came down
a storm of wind on the lake; and they were filling *with water*,
24 and were in jeopardy. And they came to him, and awoke him,
saying, Master, master, we perish. And he awoke, and rebuked
the wind and the raging of the water: and they ceased, and
25 there was a calm. And he said unto them, Where is your faith?
And being afraid they marvelled, saying one to another, Who
then is this, that he commandeth even the winds and the
water, and they obey him?

26 And they arrived at the country of the [2]Gerasenes, which
27 is over against Galilee. And when he was come forth upon
the land, there met him a certain man out of the city,
who had [3]devils; and for a long time he had worn no clothes,
28 and abode not in *any* house, but in the tombs. And when he
saw Jesus, he cried out, and fell down before him, and with a
loud voice said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son
of the Most High God? I beseech thee, torment me not.
29 For he commanded the unclean spirit to come out from the man.
For [4]oftentimes it had seized him: and he was kept under guard,
and bound with chains and fetters; and breaking the bands
30 asunder, he was driven of the [5]devil into the deserts. And
Jesus asked him, What is thy name? And he said, Legion;
31 for many [3]devils were entered into him. And they intreated him

[1] Or, *seemeth to have* [2] Many ancient authorities read *Gergesenes*; others, *Gadarenes*: and so in ver. 37. [3] Gr. *demons*. [4] Or, *of a long time* [5] Gr. *demon*.

Jewish women at the Wailing Wall, Jerusalem. The lower courses of this wall are supposed to belong to the original Temple of Herod, and as such are revered by the Jews

that he would not command them to depart into the abyss.
32 Now there was there a herd of many swine feeding on the
mountain: and they intreated him that he would give them leave
33 to enter into them. And he gave them leave. And the [1]devils
came out from the man, and entered into the swine: and the
herd rushed down the steep into the lake, and were choked.
34 And when they that fed them saw what had come to pass, they
35 fled, and told it in the city and in the country. And they went
out to see what had come to pass; and they came to Jesus,
and found the man, from whom the [1]devils were gone out,
sitting, clothed and in his right mind, at the feet of Jesus:
36 and they were afraid. And they that saw it told them how he
37 that was possessed with [1]devils was [2]made whole. And all the
people of the country of the Gerasenes round about asked him
to depart from them; for they were holden with great fear:
38 and he entered into a boat, and returned. But the man from
whom the [1]devils were gone out prayed him that he might be
39 with him: but he sent him away, saying, Return to thy house,
and declare how great things God hath done for thee. And he
went his way, publishing throughout the whole city how great
things Jesus had done for him.

40 And as Jesus returned, the multitude welcomed him; for
41 they were all waiting for him. And behold, there came a man
named Jaïrus, and he was a ruler of the synagogue: and he fell
down at Jesus' feet, and besought him to come into his house;
42 for he had an only daughter, about twelve years of age, and
she lay a dying. But as he went the multitudes thronged him.

43 And a woman having an issue of blood twelve years, which
[3]had spent all her living upon physicians, and could not be
44 healed of any, came behind him, and touched the border of his
garment: and immediately the issue of her blood stanched.
45 And Jesus said, Who is it that touched me? And when all
denied, Peter said, [4]and they that were with him, Master, the
46 multitudes press thee and crush *thee*. But Jesus said, Some
one did touch me: for I perceived that power had gone forth
47 from me. And when the woman saw that she was not hid, she
came trembling, and falling down before him declared in the
presence of all the people for what cause she touched him, and

[1] Gr. *demons*.

[2] Or, *saved*

[3] Some ancient authorities omit *had spent all her living upon physicians, and.*

[4] Some ancient authorities omit *and they that were with him.*

48 how she was healed immediately. And he said unto her, Daughter, thy faith hath [1]made thee whole; go in peace.

49 While he yet spake, there cometh one from the ruler of the synagogue's *house*, saying, Thy daughter is dead; trouble not
50 the [2]Master. But Jesus hearing it, answered him, Fear not:
51 only believe, and she shall be [3]made whole. And when he came to the house, he suffered not any man to enter in with him, save Peter, and John, and James, and the father of the
52 maiden and her mother. And all were weeping, and bewailing her: but he said, Weep not; for she is not dead, but sleepeth.
53 And they laughed him to scorn, knowing that she was dead.
54 But he, taking her by the hand, called, saying, Maiden, arise.
55 And her spirit returned, and she rose up immediately: and he
56 commanded that *something* be given her to eat. And her parents were amazed: but he charged them to tell no man what had been done.

## *The Mission of the Twelve and the Feeding of the Five Thousand*

9 And he called the twelve together, and gave them power
2 and authority over all [4]devils, and to cure diseases. And he sent them forth to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal
3 [5]the sick. And he said unto them, Take nothing for your journey, neither staff, nor wallet, nor bread, nor money;
4 neither have two coats. And into whatsoever house ye enter,
5 there abide, and thence depart. And as many as receive you not, when ye depart from that city, shake off the dust from
6 your feet for a testimony against them. And they departed, and went throughout the villages, preaching the gospel, and healing everywhere.

7 Now Herod the tetrarch heard of all that was done: and he was much perplexed, because that it was said by some, that
8 John was risen from the dead; and by some, that Elijah had appeared; and by others, that one of the old prophets was risen
9 again. And Herod said, John I beheaded: but who is this, about whom I hear such things? And he sought to see him.

10 And the apostles, when they were returned, declared unto him what things they had done. And he took them, and with-
11 drew apart to a city called Bethsaida. But the multitudes perceiving it followed him: and he welcomed them, and spake to

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[1] Or, *saved thee* [2] Or, *Teacher* [3] Or, *saved* [4] Gr. *demons*.
[5] Some ancient authorities omit *the sick*.

them of the kingdom of God, and them that had need of healing
12 he healed. And the day began to wear away; and the twelve
came, and said unto him, Send the multitude away, that they
may go into the villages and country round about, and lodge,
13 and get victuals: for we are here in a desert place. But he said
unto them, Give ye them to eat. And they said, We have no
more than five loaves and two fishes; except we should go and
14 buy food for all this people. For they were about five thousand
men. And he said unto his disciples, Make them [1]sit down in
15 companies, about fifty each. And they did so, and made them
16 all [1]sit down. And he took the five loaves and the two fishes,
and looking up to heaven, he blessed them, and brake; and gave
17 to the disciples to set before the multitude. And they did eat,
and were all filled: and there was taken up that which remained
over to them of broken pieces, twelve baskets.

### *S. Peter's Confession. First Prediction of the Passion*

18 And it came to pass, as he was praying alone, the disciples
were with him: and he asked them, saying, Who do the multi-
19 tudes say that I am? And they answering said, John the
Baptist; but others *say*, Elijah; and others, that one of the old
20 prophets is risen again. And he said unto them, But who say
ye that I am? And Peter answering said, The Christ of God.
21 But he charged them, and commanded *them* to tell this to no
22 man; saying, The Son of man must suffer many things, and
be rejected of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be
23 killed, and the third day be raised up. And he said unto all,
If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and
24 take up his cross daily, and follow me. For whosoever would
save his [2]life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his [2]life for
25 my sake, the same shall save it. For what is a man profited,
if he gain the whole world, and lose or forfeit his own self?
26 For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of
him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in his
own glory, and *the glory* of the Father, and of the holy angels.
27 But I tell you of a truth, There be some of them that stand
here, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God.

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[1] Gr. *recline*.

[2] Or, *soul*

28 And it came to pass about eight days after these sayings,
he took with him Peter and John and James, and went up into
29 the mountain to pray. And as he was praying, the fashion
of his countenance was altered, and his raiment *became* white
30 *and* dazzling. And behold, there talked with him two men,
31 which were Moses and Elijah; who appeared in glory, and spake
of his [1]decease which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem.
32 Now Peter and they that were with him were heavy with
sleep: but [2]when they were fully awake, they saw his glory,
33 and the two men that stood with him. And it came to pass,
as they were parting from him, Peter said unto Jesus, Master,
it is good for us to be here: and let us make three [3]tabernacles;
one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah: not know-
34 ing what he said. And while he said these things, there came
a cloud, and overshadowed them: and they feared as they
35 entered into the cloud. And a voice came out of the cloud,
36 saying, This is [4]my Son, my chosen: hear ye him. And when
the voice [5]came, Jesus was found alone. And they held their
peace, and told no man in those days any of the things which
they had seen.

37 And it came to pass, on the next day, when they were come
38 down from the mountain, a great multitude met him. And
behold, a man from the multitude cried, saying, [6]Master, I
beseech thee to look upon my son; for he is mine only child:
39 and behold, a spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out;
and it [7]teareth him that he foameth, and it hardly departeth
40 from him, bruising him sorely. And I besought thy disciples
41 to cast it out; and they could not. And Jesus answered and
said, O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be
42 with you, and bear with you? bring hither thy son. And as he
was yet a coming, the [8]devil [9]dashed him down, and [10]tare *him*
grievously. But Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and healed
43 the boy, and gave him back to his father. And they were all
astonished at the majesty of God.

But while all were marvelling at all the things which he did,
44 he said unto his disciples, Let these words sink into your ears:

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[1] Or, *departure* [2] Or, *having remained awake* [3] Or, *booths*
[4] Many ancient authorities read *my beloved Son*. See Matt. xvii. 5; Mark ix. 7. [5] Or, *was past* [6] Or, *Teacher* [7] Or, *convulseth*
[8] Gr. *demon*. [9] Or, *rent him* [10] Or, *convulsed*

for the Son of man shall be delivered up into the hands of men.
45 But they understood not this saying, and it was concealed
from them, that they should not perceive it: and they were
afraid to ask him about this saying.

46 And there arose a reasoning among them, which of them
47 should be [1]greatest. But when Jesus saw the reasoning of their
48 heart, he took a little child, and set him by his side, and said
unto them, Whosoever shall receive this little child in my name
receiveth me: and whosoever shall receive me receiveth him
that sent me: for he that is [2]least among you all, the same is great.

49 And John answered and said, Master, we saw one casting
out [3]devils in thy name; and we forbade him, because he fol-
50 loweth not with us. But Jesus said unto him, Forbid *him* not:
for he that is not against you is for you.

## THE CENTRAL SECTION

### *Setting out for Jerusalem. The Mission of the Seventy*

51 And it came to pass, when the days [4]were well-nigh come
that he should be received up, he stedfastly set his face to go
52 to Jerusalem, and sent messengers before his face: and they
went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make
53 ready for him. And they did not receive him, because his face
54 was *as though he were* going to Jerusalem. And when his
disciples James and John saw *this*, they said, Lord, wilt thou
that we bid fire to come down from heaven, and consume
55 them[5]? But he turned, and rebuked them.[6] And they went
56 to another village.

57 And as they went in the way, a certain man said unto him,
58 I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. And Jesus said
unto him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven
*have* [7]nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.
59 And he said unto another, Follow me. But he said, Lord,
60 suffer me first to go and bury my father. But he said unto him,
Leave the dead to bury their own dead; but go thou and publish
61 abroad the kingdom of God. And another also said, I will
follow thee, Lord; but first suffer me to bid farewell to them

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[1] Gr. greater. [2] Gr. lesser. [3] Gr. *demons*. [4] Gr. *were being fulfilled*. [5] Many ancient authorities add *even as Elijah did*. [6] Some ancient authorities add *and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of*. Some, but fewer, add also *For the Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save* them. [7] Gr. *lodging-places*.

62 that are at my house. But Jesus said unto him, No man,
having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for
the kingdom of God.

10 Now after these things the Lord appointed seventy[1]
others, and sent them two and two before his face into
2 every city and place, whither he himself was about to come. And
he said unto them, The harvest is plenteous, but the labourers

PLOUGHING IN PALESTINE

are few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he
3 send forth labourers into his harvest. Go your ways: behold,
4 I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves. Carry no
purse, no wallet, no shoes: and salute no man on the way.
5 And into whatsoever house ye shall [2]enter, first say, Peace *be*
6 to this house. And if a son of peace be there, your peace shall
7 rest upon [3]him: but if not, it shall turn to you again. And in
that same house remain, eating and drinking such things as

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[1] Many ancient authorities add *and two*: and so in ver. 17. [2] Or, *enter first, say* [3] Or, *it*

they give: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from
8 house to house. And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they
9 receive you, eat such things as are set before you: and heal the
sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God
10 is come nigh unto you. But into whatsoever city ye shall enter,
and they receive you not, go out into the streets thereof and
11 say, Even the dust from your city, that cleaveth to our feet, we
do wipe off against you: howbeit know this, that the kingdom
12 of God is come nigh. I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable
13 in that day for Sodom, than for that city. Woe unto thee,
Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the [1]mighty works
had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which were done in you,
they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and
14 ashes. Howbeit it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon
15 in the judgement, than for you. And thou, Capernaum, shalt
thou be exalted unto heaven? thou shalt be brought down unto
16 Hades. He that heareth you heareth me; and he that rejecteth
you rejecteth me; and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that
sent me.

17 And the seventy returned with joy, saying, Lord, even the
18 [2]devils are subject unto us in thy name. And he said unto
19 them, I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven. Behold,
I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions,
and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall
20 in any wise hurt you. Howbeit in this rejoice not, that the
spirits are subject unto you; but rejoice that your names are
written in heaven.

21 In that same hour he rejoiced [3]in the Holy Spirit, and said,
I [4]thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou
didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and
didst reveal them unto babes: yea, Father; [5]for so it was well-pleasing
22 in thy sight. All things have been delivered unto me
of my Father: and no one knoweth who the Son is, save the
Father; and who the Father is, save the Son, and he to whomsoever
23 the Son willeth to reveal *him*. And turning to the disciples,
he said privately, Blessed *are* the eyes which see the things
24 that ye see: for I say unto you, that many prophets and kings
desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not; and
to hear the things which ye hear, and heard them not.

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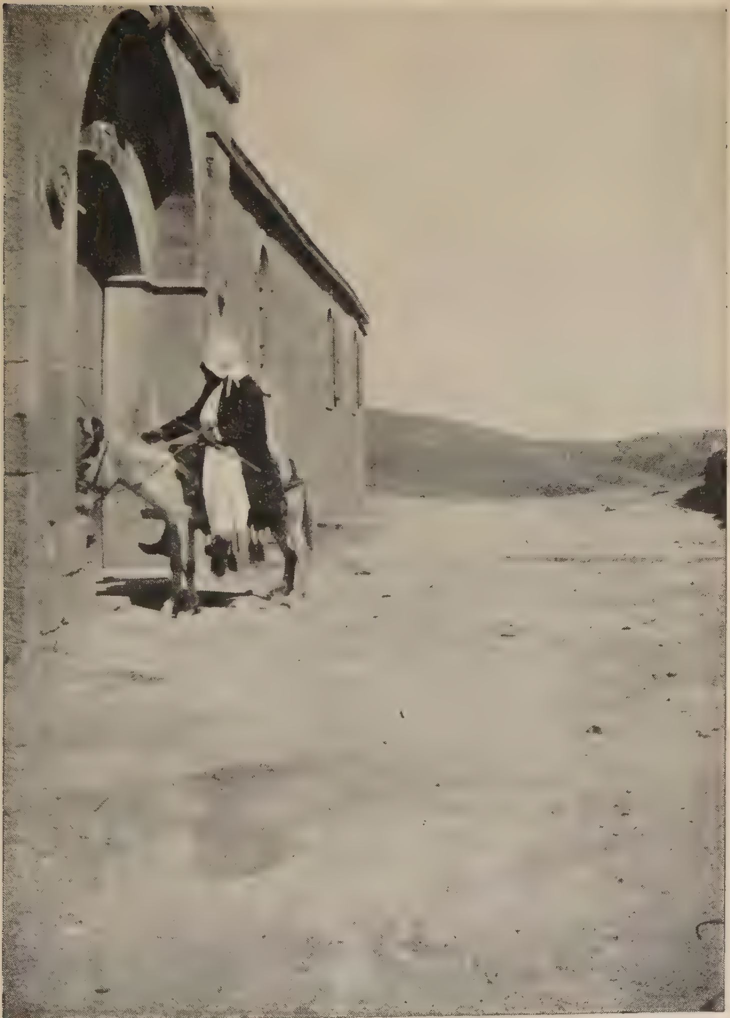
[1] Gr. *powers*. [2] Gr. *demons*. [3] Or, *by* [4] Or, *praise* [5] Or, *that*.



The traditional site of the inn of the good Samaritan, on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho

F 2

*The Good Samaritan. Martha and Mary*

25 And behold, a certain lawyer stood up and tempted him,
26 saying, [1]Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? And
he said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest
27 thou? And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy
God [2]with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy
strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.
28 And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and
29 thou shalt live. But he, desiring to justify himself, said unto
30 Jesus, And who is my neighbour? Jesus made answer and
said, A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to
Jericho; and he fell among robbers, which both stripped him
31 and beat him, and departed, leaving him half dead. And by
chance a certain priest was going down that way: and when he
32 saw him, he passed by on the other side. And in like manner
a Levite also, when he came to the place, and saw him, passed
33 by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed,
came where he was: and when he saw him, he was moved with
34 compassion, and came to him, and bound up his wounds,
pouring on *them* oil and wine; and he set him on his own beast,
35 and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the
morrow he took out two [3]pence, and gave them to the host,
and said, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest
36 more, I, when I come back again, will repay thee. Which of
these three, thinkest thou, proved neighbour unto him that
37 fell among the robbers? And he said, He that shewed mercy
on him. And Jesus said unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.
38 Now as they went on their way, he entered into a certain
village: and a certain woman named Martha received him into
39 her house. And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat
40 at the Lord's feet, and heard his word. But Martha was
[4]cumbered about much serving; and she came up to him, and
said, Lord, dost thou not care that my sister did leave me to
41 serve alone? bid her therefore that she help me. But the Lord
answered and said unto her, [5]Martha, Martha, thou art anxious
42 and troubled about many things: [6]but one thing is needful:

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[1] Or, *Teacher* [2] Gr. *from.* [3] See marginal note on Matt. xviii. 28.
[4] Gr. *distracted.* [5] A few ancient authorities read *Martha, Martha, thou art troubled: Mary hath chosen &c.* [6] Many ancient authorities read *but few things are needful, or one.*

for Mary hath chosen the good part, which shall not be taken away from her.

*On Prayer*

11 And it came to pass, as he was praying in a certain place, that when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his
2 disciples. And he said unto them, When ye pray, say, [1]Father,

Martha and Mary's house at Bethany

3 Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come.[2] Give us day by
4 day [3]our daily bread. And forgive us our sins; for we ourselves also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And bring us not into temptation.[4]

5 And he said unto them, Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, and say to him, Friend,

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[1] Many ancient authorities read *Our Father, which art in heaven.* See Matt. vi. 9. [2] Many ancient authorities add *Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.* See Matt. vi. 10. [3] Gr. *our bread for the coming day.* [4] Many ancient authorities add *but deliver us from the evil* one (or, *from evil*). See Matt. vi. 13.

6 lend me three loaves; for a friend of mine is come to me from
7 a journey, and I have nothing to set before him; and he from
within shall answer and say, Trouble me not: the door is now
shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give
8 thee? I say unto you, Though he will not rise and give him,
because he is his friend, yet because of his importunity he will
9 arise and give him [1]as many as he needeth. And I say unto you,
Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock,
10 and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asketh
receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that
11 knocketh it shall be opened. And of which of you that is a
father shall his son ask [2]a loaf, and he give him a stone? or a
12 fish, and he for a fish give him a serpent? Or *if* he shall ask
13 an egg, will he give him a scorpion? If ye then, being evil,
know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much
more shall *your* heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them
that ask him?

## *The Beelzebub Controversy*

14 And he was casting out a [3]devil *which was* dumb. And it
came to pass, when the [3]devil was gone out, the dumb man
15 spake; and the multitudes marvelled. But some of them said,
[4]By Beelzebub the prince of the [5]devils casteth he out [5]devils.
16 And others, tempting *him*, sought of him a sign from heaven.
17 But he, knowing their thoughts, said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; [6]and a
18 house *divided* against a house falleth. And if Satan also is
divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand? because
19 ye say that I cast out [5]devils [4]by Beelzebub. And if I [4]by
Beelzebub cast out [5]devils, by whom do your sons cast them
20 out? therefore shall they be your judges. But if I by the finger
of God cast out [5]devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon
21 you. When the strong *man* fully armed guardeth his own
22 court, his goods are in peace: but when a stronger than he shall
come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him his
23 whole armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils. He
that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not
24 with me scattereth. The unclean spirit when [7]he is gone out

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[1] Or, *whatsoever things*
[2] Some ancient authorities omit *a loaf, and he give him a stone? or.*
[3] Gr. *demon.*
[4] Or, *In*
[5] Gr. *demons.*
[6] Or, *and house falleth upon house.*
[7] Or, *it*

of the man, passeth through waterless places, seeking rest; and finding none, [1]he saith, I will turn back unto my house
25 whence I came out. And when [1]he is come, [1]he findeth it swept
26 and garnished. Then goeth [1]he, and taketh *to him* seven other spirits more evil than [2]himself; and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man becometh worse than the first.

27 And it came to pass, as he said these things, a certain woman out of the multitude lifted up her voice, and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the breasts which
28 thou didst suck. But he said, Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.

### *Lessons on Discipleship*

29 And when the multitudes were gathering together unto him, he began to say, This generation is an evil generation: it seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it but the sign
30 of Jonah. For even as Jonah became a sign unto the Ninevites,
31 so shall also the Son of man be to this generation. The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgement with the men of this generation, and shall condemn them: for she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold,
32 [3]a greater than Solomon is here. The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold, [3]a greater than Jonah is here.

33 No man, when he hath lighted a lamp, putteth it in a cellar, neither under the bushel, but on the stand, that they which
34 enter in may see the light. The lamp of thy body is thine eye: when thine eye is single, thy whole body also is full of light;
35 but when it is evil, thy body also is full of darkness. Look
36 therefore whether the light that is in thee be not darkness. If therefore thy whole body be full of light, having no part dark, it shall be wholly full of light, as when the lamp with its bright shining doth give thee light.

37 Now as he spake, a Pharisee asketh him to [4]dine with him:
38 and he went in, and sat down to meat. And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not first washed before
39 [4]dinner. And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter; but your in-

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[1] Or, *it*. [2] Or, *itself*. [3] Gr. *more than*. [4] Gr. *breakfast*.

40 ward part is full of extortion and wickedness. Ye foolish ones,
41 did not he that made the outside make the inside also? Howbeit
give for alms those things which [1]are within; and behold,
all things are clean unto you.

42 But woe unto you Pharisees! for ye tithe mint and rue and
every herb, and pass over judgement and the love of God: but
these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.
43 Woe unto you Pharisees! for ye love the chief seats in the
44 synagogues, and the salutations in the marketplaces. Woe unto
you! for ye are as the tombs which appear not, and the men
that walk over *them* know it not.

45 And one of the lawyers answering saith unto him, [2]Master,
46 in saying this thou reproachest us also. And he said, Woe unto
you lawyers also! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to
be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of
47 your fingers. Woe unto you! for ye build the tombs of the
48 prophets, and your fathers killed them. So ye are witnesses
and consent unto the works of your fathers: for they killed
49 them, and ye build *their tombs*. Therefore also said the wisdom
of God, I will send unto them prophets and apostles; and *some*
50 of them they shall kill and persecute; that the blood of all the
prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world,
51 may be required of this generation; from the blood of Abel unto
the blood of Zachariah, who perished between the altar and
the [3]sanctuary: yea, I say unto you, it shall be required of this
52 generation. Woe unto you lawyers! for ye took away the key
of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were
entering in ye hindered.

53 And when he was come out from thence, the scribes and the
Pharisees began to [4]press upon *him* vehemently, and to provoke
54 him to speak of [5]many things; laying wait for him, to catch
something out of his mouth.

12 In the mean time, when [6]the many thousands of the
multitude were gathered together, insomuch that they
trode one upon another, he began to [7]say unto his disciples
first of all, Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is
2 hypocrisy. But there is nothing covered up, that shall not be

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[1] Or, *ye can* [2] Or, *Teacher* [3] Gr. *house.* [4] Or, *set themselves vehemently against* him [5] Or, *more* [6] Gr. *the myriads of.*
[7] Or, *say unto his disciples, First of all beware ye*

3 revealed: and hid, that shall not be known. Wherefore whatsoever ye have said in the darkness shall be heard in the light; and what ye have spoken in the ear in the inner chambers shall
4 be proclaimed upon the housetops. And I say unto you my friends, Be not afraid of them which kill the body, and after
5 that have no more that they can do. But I will warn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed hath
6 [1]power to cast into [2]hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him. Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings? and not one of them
7 is forgotten in the sight of God. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not: ye are of more value than
8 many sparrows. And I say unto you, Every one who shall confess [3]me before men, [4]him shall the Son of man also confess
9 before the angels of God: but he that denieth me in the presence of men shall be denied in the presence of the angels of God.
10 And every one who shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but unto him that blasphemeth
11 against the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven. And when they bring you before the synagogues, and the rulers, and the authorities, be not anxious how or what ye shall answer, or
12 what ye shall say: for the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour what ye ought to say.

13 And one out of the multitude said unto him, [5]Master, bid
14 my brother divide the inheritance with me. But he said unto
15 him, Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you? And he said unto them, Take heed, and keep yourselves from all coveteousness: [6]for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance
16 of the things which he possesseth. And he spake a parable unto them, saying, The ground of a certain rich man brought
17 forth plentifully: and he reasoned within himself, saying, What shall I do, because I have not where to bestow my
18 fruits? And he said, This will I do: I will pull down my barns, and build greater; and there will I bestow all my corn and my
19 goods. And I will say to my [7]soul, [7]Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, be merry.
20 But God said unto him, Thou foolish one, this night [8]is thy [7]soul required of thee; and the things which thou hast pre-

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[1] Or, *authority* [2] Gr. *Gehenna.* [3] Gr. *in me.* [4] Gr. *in him.* [5] Or, *Teacher* [6] Gr. *for not in a man's abundance consisteth his life, from the things which he possesseth.* [7] Or, *life* [8] Gr. *they require thy soul.*

21 pared, whose shall they be? So is he that layeth up treasure for
himself, and is not rich toward God.

22 And he said unto his disciples, Therefore I say unto you, Be
not anxious for *your* [1]life, what ye shall eat; nor yet for your
23 body, what ye shall put on. For the [1]life is more than the food,
24 and the body than the raiment. Consider the ravens, that they
sow not, neither reap; which have no store-chamber nor barn;
and God feedeth them: of how much more value are ye than
25 the birds! And which of you by being anxious can add a cubit
26 unto his [2]stature? If then ye are not able to do even that
27 which is least, why are ye anxious concerning the rest? Consider the lilies, how they grow: they toil not, neither do they
spin; yet I say unto you, Even Solomon in all his glory was not
28 arrayed like one of these. But if God doth so clothe the grass
in the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the
oven; how much more *shall he clothe* you, O ye of little faith?
29 And seek not ye what ye shall eat, and what ye shall drink,
30 neither be ye of doubtful mind. For all these things do the
nations of the world seek after: but your Father knoweth that
31 ye have need of these things. Howbeit seek ye [3]his kingdom,
32 and these things shall be added unto you. Fear not, little flock;
for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.
33 Sell that ye have, and give alms; make for yourselves purses
which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not,
34 where no thief draweth near, neither moth destroyeth. For
where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

35 Let your loins be girded about, and your lamps burning; and
36 be ye yourselves like unto men looking for their lord, when he
shall return from the marriage feast; that, when he cometh and
37 knocketh, they may straightway open unto him. Blessed are
those [4]servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find
watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself, and
make them sit down to meat, and shall come and serve them.
38 And if he shall come in the second watch, and if in the third,
39 and find *them* so, blessed are those *servants*. [5]But know this,
that if the master of the house had known in what hour the
thief was coming, he would have watched, and not have left
40 his house to be [6]broken through. Be ye also ready: for in an
hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh.

[1] Or, *soul* [2] Or, *age* [3] Many ancient authorities read *the kingdom of God*. [4] Gr. *bondservants*. [5] Or, *But this ye know* [6] Gr. *digged through*.

41 And Peter said, Lord, speakest thou this parable unto us, or
42 even unto all? And the Lord said, Who then is [1]the faithful
and wise steward, whom his lord shall set over his household,
43 to give them their portion of food in due season? Blessed is
that [2]servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so
44 doing. Of a truth I say unto you, that he will set him over all
45 that he hath. But if that [2]servant shall say in his heart, My
lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to beat the menservants
and the maidservants, and to eat and drink, and to
46 be drunken; the lord of that [2]servant shall come in a day when
he expecteth not, and in an hour when he knoweth not, and
shall [3]cut him asunder, and appoint his portion with the unfaithful.
47 And that [2]servant, which knew his lord's will, and
made not ready, nor did according to his will, shall be beaten
48 with many *stripes*; but he that knew not, and did things worthy
of stripes, shall be beaten with few *stripes*. And to whomsoever
much is given, of him shall much be required: and to whom
they commit much, of him will they ask the more.

49 I came to cast fire upon the earth; and what will I, if it is
50 already kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptized with;
51 and how am I straitened till it be accomplished! Think ye that
52 I am come to give peace in the earth? I tell you, Nay; but
rather division: for there shall be from henceforth five in one
53 house divided, three against two, and two against three. They
shall be divided, father against son, and son against father;
mother against daughter, and daughter against her mother;
mother in law against her daughter in law, and daughter in law
against her mother in law.

54 And he said to the multitudes also, When ye see a cloud
rising in the west, straightway ye say, There cometh a shower;
55 and so it cometh to pass. And when *ye see* a south wind blowing,
ye say, There will be a [4]scorching heat; and it cometh to
56 pass. Ye hypocrites, ye know how to [5]interpret the face of the
earth and the heaven; but how is it that ye know not how to
57 [5]interpret this time? And why even of yourselves judge ye not
58 what is right? For as thou art going with thine adversary
before the magistrate, on the way give diligence to be quit of
him; lest haply he hale thee unto the judge, and the judge shall

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[1] Or, *the faithful steward, the wise* man *whom &c.*
[2] Gr. *bondservant.*
[3] Or, *severely scourge him*
[4] Or, *hot wind*
[5] Gr. *prove.*

deliver thee to the [1]officer, and the [1]officer shall cast thee into
59 prison. I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out
thence, till thou have paid the very last mite.

*Repentance and the Kingdom of God*

13 Now there were some present at that very season which
told him of the Galilæans, whose blood Pilate had mingled
2 with their sacrifices. And he answered and said unto them,
Think ye that these Galilæans were sinners above all the Gali-
3 læans, because they have suffered these things? I tell you,
Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all in like manner perish.
4 Or those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and
killed them, think ye that they were [2]offenders above all the
5 men that dwell in Jerusalem? I tell you, Nay: but, except ye
repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

6 And he spake this parable; A certain man had a fig tree
planted in his vineyard; and he came seeking fruit thereon, and
7 found none. And he said unto the vinedresser, Behold, these
three years I come seeking fruit on this fig tree, and find none:
8 cut it down; why doth it also cumber the ground? And he
answering saith unto him, Lord, let it alone this year also, till
9 I shall dig about it, and dung it: and if it bear fruit thenceforth,
*well*; but if not, thou shalt cut it down.

10 And he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath
11 day. And behold, a woman which had a spirit of infirmity
eighteen years; and she was bowed together, and could in no
12 wise lift herself up. And when Jesus saw her, he called her, and
said to her, Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity.
13 And he laid his hands upon her: and immediately she was made
14 straight, and glorified God. And the ruler of the synagogue,
being moved with indignation because Jesus had healed on the
sabbath, answered and said to the multitude, There are six
days in which men ought to work: in them therefore come and
15 be healed, and not on the day of the sabbath. But the Lord
answered him, and said, Ye hypocrites, doth not each one of
you on the sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the [3]stall, and
16 lead him away to watering? And ought not this woman, being
a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan had bound, lo, *these*
eighteen years, to have been loosed from this bond on the day
17 of the sabbath? And as he said these things, all his adversaries

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[1] Gr. *exactor*. [2] Gr. *debtors*. [3] Gr. *manger*.

were put to shame: and all the multitude rejoiced for all the glorious things that were done by him.

18 He said therefore, Unto what is the kingdom of God like?
19 and whereunto shall I liken it? It is like unto a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and cast into his own garden;
and it grew, and became a tree; and the birds of the heaven
20 lodged in the branches thereof. And again he said, Whereunto
21 shall I liken the kingdom of God? It is like unto leaven, which
a woman took and hid in three [1]measures of meal, till it was all leavened.

22 And he went on his way through cities and villages, teaching,
23 and journeying on unto Jerusalem. And one said unto him,
Lord, are they few that be saved? And he said unto them,
24 Strive to enter in by the narrow door: for many, I say unto you,
25 shall seek to enter in, and shall not be [2]able. When once the
master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door, and
ye begin to stand without, and to knock at the door, saying,
Lord, open to us; and he shall answer and say to you, I know
26 you not whence ye are; then shall ye begin to say, We did eat
and drink in thy presence, and thou didst teach in our streets;
27 and he shall say, I tell you, I know not whence ye are; depart
28 from me, all ye workers of iniquity. There shall be the weeping
and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac,
and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and
29 yourselves cast forth without. And they shall come from the
east and west, and from the north and south, and shall [3]sit
30 down in the kingdom of God. And behold, there are last which
shall be first, and there are first which shall be last.

31 In that very hour there came certain Pharisees, saying to
him, Get thee out, and go hence: for Herod would fain kill
32 thee. And he said unto them, Go and say to that fox, Behold,
I cast out [4]devils and perform cures to-day and to-morrow,
33 and the third *day* I am perfected. Howbeit I must go on my
way to-day and to-morrow and the *day* following: for it cannot
34 be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets, and stoneth them that are
sent unto her! how often would I have gathered thy children
together, even as a hen *gathereth* her own brood under her
35 wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you

[1] See marginal note on Matt. xiii. 33. [2] Or, *able, when once*
[3] Gr. *recline.* [4] Gr. *demons.*

*desolate*: and I say unto you, Ye shall not see me, until ye shall say, Blessed *is* he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

### *At a Pharisee's Table*

14 And it came to pass, when he went into the house of one of the rulers of the Pharisees on a sabbath to eat bread,
2 that they were watching him. And behold, there was before
3 him a certain man which had the dropsy. And Jesus answering spake unto the lawyers and Pharisees, saying, Is it lawful to
4 heal on the sabbath, or not? But they held their peace. And
5 he took him, and healed him, and let him go. And he said unto them, Which of you shall have [1]an ass or an ox fallen into a well, and will not straightway draw him up on a sabbath day?
6 And they could not answer again unto these things.

7 And he spake a parable unto those which were bidden, when he marked how they chose out the chief seats; saying unto
8 them, When thou art bidden of any man to a marriage feast, [2]sit not down in the chief seat; lest haply a more honourable
9 man than thou be bidden of him, and he that bade thee and him shall come and say to thee, Give this man place; and then
10 thou shalt begin with shame to take the lowest place. But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest place; that when he that hath bidden thee cometh, he may say to thee, Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have glory in the presence
11 of all that sit at meat with thee. For every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

12 And he said to him also that had bidden him, When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen, nor rich neighbours; lest haply they
13 also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, bid the poor, the maimed, the lame, the
14 blind: and thou shalt be blessed; because they have not *wherewith* to recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed in the resurrection of the just.

15 And when one of them that sat at meat with him heard these things, he said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in
16 the kingdom of God. But he said unto him, A certain man
17 made a great supper; and he bade many: and he sent forth his

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[1] Many ancient authorities read *a son*. See ch. xiii. 15.

[2] Gr. *recline not*.

[1]servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden, Come;
18 for *all* things are now ready. And they all with one *consent*
began to make excuse. The first said unto him, I have bought
a field, and I must needs go out and see it: I pray thee have me
19 excused. And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen,
20 and I go to prove them: I pray thee have me excused. And
another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot
21 come. And the [1]servant came, and told his lord these things.
Then the master of the house being angry said to his [1]servant,
Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring
22 in hither the poor and maimed and blind and lame. And the
[1]servant said, Lord, what thou didst command is done, and
23 yet there is room. And the lord said unto the [1]servant, Go out
into the highways and hedges, and constrain *them* to come in,
24 that my house may be filled. For I say unto you, that none
of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper.

### *Discipleship and its Cost*

25 Now there went with him great multitudes: and he turned,
26 and said unto them, If any man cometh unto me, and hateth
not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and
brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be
27 my disciple. Whosoever doth not bear his own cross, and come
28 after me, cannot be my disciple. For which of you, desiring to
build a tower, doth not first sit down and count the cost,
29 whether he have *wherewith* to complete it? Lest haply, when
he hath laid a foundation, and is not able to finish, all that
30 behold begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build,
31 and was not able to finish. Or what king, as he goeth to en-
counter another king in war, will not sit down first and take
counsel whether he is able with ten thousand to meet him that
32 cometh against him with twenty thousand? Or else, while the
other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and
33 asketh conditions of peace. So therefore whosoever he be of
you that renounceth not all that he hath, he cannot be my
34 disciple. Salt therefore is good: but if even the salt have lost
35 its savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned? It is fit neither for
the land nor for the dunghill: *men* cast it out. He that hath
ears to hear, let him hear.

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[1] Gr. *bondservant*

*Parables and Other Sayings*

15 Now all the publicans and sinners were drawing near
2 unto him for to hear him. And both the Pharisees and
the scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners, and
eateth with them.

3 And he spake unto them this parable, saying, What man of
4 you, having a hundred sheep, and having lost one of them, doth
not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after
5 that which is lost, until he find it? And when he hath found it,
6 he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing. And when he cometh
home, he calleth together his friends and his neighbours, saying
unto them, Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which
7 was lost. I say unto you, that even so there shall be joy in
heaven over one sinner that repenteth, *more* than over ninety
and nine righteous persons, which need no repentance.

8 Or what woman having ten [1]pieces of silver, if she lose one
piece, doth not light a lamp, and sweep the house, and seek
9 diligently until she find it? And when she hath found it, she
calleth together her friends and neighbours, saying, Rejoice
10 with me, for I have found the piece which I had lost. Even so,
I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of
God over one sinner that repenteth.

11 And he said, A certain man had two sons: and the younger
12 of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of [2]*thy*
substance that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his
13 living. And not many days after the younger son gathered all
together, and took his journey into a far country; and there he
14 wasted his substance with riotous living. And when he had
spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that country; and he
15 began to be in want. And he went and joined himself to one
of the citizens of that country; and he sent him into his fields
16 to feed swine. And he would fain have been filled with [3]the
husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.
17 But when he came to himself he said, How many hired servants
of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish
18 here with hunger! I will arise and go to my father, and will
say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy
19 sight: I am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as

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[1] Gr. *drachma*, a coin worth about eight pence.

[2] Gr. *the*.

[3] Gr. *the pods of the carob tree.*

‘I have found my sheep which was lost.’ A shepherd with his flock, carrying a lamb in his arms, by the lake of Tiberias

20 one of thy hired servants. And he arose, and came to his
father. But while he was yet afar off, his father saw him, and
was moved with compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and
21 [1]kissed him. And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned
against heaven, and in thy sight: I am no more worthy to be
22 called thy son.[2] But the father said to his [3]servants, Bring forth
quickly the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his
23 hand, and shoes on his feet: and bring the fatted calf, *and* kill
24 it, and let us eat, and make merry: for this my son was dead,
and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began
25 to be merry. Now his elder son was in the field: and as he
came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing.
26 And he called to him one of the [3]servants, and inquired what
27 these things might be. And he said unto him, Thy brother is
come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he
28 hath received him safe and sound. But he was angry, and
would not go in: and his father came out, and intreated him.
29 But he answered and said to his father, Lo, these many years
do I serve thee, and I never transgressed a commandment of
thine: and *yet* thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make
30 merry with my friends: but when this thy son came, which hath
devoured thy living with harlots, thou killedst for him the
31 fatted calf. And he said unto him, [4]Son, thou art ever with me,
32 and all that is mine is thine. But it was meet to make merry
and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive *again*;
and *was* lost, and is found.

16 And he said also unto the disciples, There was a certain
rich man, which had a steward; and the same was
2 accused unto him that he was wasting his goods. And he called
him, and said unto him, What is this that I hear of thee?
render the account of thy stewardship; for thou canst be no
3 longer steward. And the steward said within himself, What
shall I do, seeing that my lord taketh away the stewardship
from me? I have not strength to dig; to beg I am ashamed.
4 I am resolved what to do, that, when I am put out of the
5 stewardship, they may receive me into their houses. And calling to him each one of his lord's debtors, he said to the first,
6 How much owest thou unto my lord? And he said, A hundred

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[1] Gr. *kissed him much.* [2] Some ancient authorities add *make me as one of thy hired servants.* See ver. 19. [3] Gr. *bondservants.* [4] Gr. *Child.*

[1]measures of oil. And he said unto him, Take thy [2]bond, and
7 sit down quickly and write fifty. Then said he to another, And
how much owest thou? And he said, A hundred [3]measures of
wheat. He saith unto him, Take thy [2]bond, and write fourscore.
8 And his lord commended [4]the unrighteous steward because he
had done wisely: for the sons of this [5]world are for their own
9 generation wiser than the sons of the light. And I say unto
you, Make to yourselves friends [6]by means of the mammon of
unrighteousness; that, when it shall fail, they may receive you
10 into the eternal tabernacles. He that is faithful in a very little
is faithful also in much: and he that is unrighteous in a very
11 little is unrighteous also in much. If therefore ye have not been
faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your
12 trust the true *riches*? And if ye have not been faithful in that
which is another's, who will give you that which is [7]your own?
13 No [8]servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the
one, and love the other; or else he will hold to one, and despise
the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

14 And the Pharisees, who were lovers of money, heard all these
15 things; and they scoffed at him. And he said unto them, Ye
are they that justify yourselves in the sight of men; but God
knoweth your hearts: for that which is exalted among men is
16 an abomination in the sight of God. The law and the prophets
*were* until John: from that time the gospel of the kingdom of
17 God is preached, and every man entereth violently into it. But
it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one
18 tittle of the law to fall. Every one that putteth away his wife,
and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and he that
marrieth one that is put away from a husband committeth
adultery.

19 Now there was a certain rich man, and he was clothed in
20 purple and fine linen, [9]faring sumptuously every day: and a
certain beggar named Lazarus was laid at his gate, full of
21 sores, and desiring to be fed with the *crumbs* that fell from the
rich man's table; yea, even the dogs came and licked his sores.
22 And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and that he was

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[1] Gr. *baths*, the bath being a Hebrew measure. See Ezek. xlv. 10, 11, 14.
[2] Gr. *writings*.
[3] Gr. *cors*, the cor being a Hebrew measure. See Ezek. xlv. 14.
[4] Gr. *the steward of unrighteousness*.
[5] Or, *age*
[6] Gr. *out of*.
[7] Some ancient authorities read *our own*.
[8] Gr. *household-servant*.
[9] Or, *living in mirth and splendour every day*

carried away by the angels into Abraham's bosom: and the
23 rich man also died, and was buried. And in Hades he lifted up
his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and
24 Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham,
have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip
of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am in anguish
25 in this flame. But Abraham said, [1]Son, remember that thou in
thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and Lazarus in like
manner evil things: but now here he is comforted, and thou art
26 in anguish. And [2]beside all this, between us and you there is
a great gulf fixed, that they which would pass from hence to
you may not be able, and that none may cross over from thence
27 to us. And he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou
28 wouldest send him to my father's house; for I have five
brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come
29 into this place of torment. But Abraham saith, They have
30 Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. And he said,
Nay, father Abraham: but if one go to them from the dead,
31 they will repent. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses
and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, if one rise
from the dead.

17 And he said unto his disciples, It is impossible but that
occasions of stumbling should come: but woe unto him,
2 through whom they come! It were well for him if a millstone
were hanged about his neck, and he were thrown into the sea,
rather than that he should cause one of these little ones to
3 stumble. Take heed to yourselves: if thy brother sin, rebuke
4 him; and if he repent, forgive him. And if he sin against thee
seven times in the day, and seven times turn again to thee,
saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him.

5 And the apostles said unto the Lord, Increase our faith. And
6 the Lord said, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye
would say unto this sycamine tree, Be thou rooted up, and be
7 thou planted in the sea; and it would have obeyed you. But
who is there of you, having a [3]servant plowing or keeping
sheep, that will say unto him, when he is come in from the
8 field, Come straightway and sit down to meat; and will not
rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup, and
gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken; and

[1] Gr. *Child.* [2] Or, *in all these things* [3] Gr. *bondservant.*

9 afterward thou shalt eat and drink? Doth he thank the [1]servant because he did the things that were commanded?
10 Even so ye also, when ye shall have done all the things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable [2]servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do.

## *A Miracle. Further Sayings and Parables*

11 And it came to pass, [3]as they were on the way to Jerusalem, that he was passing [4]through the midst of Samaria and Galilee.
12 And as he entered into a certain village, there met him ten
13 men that were lepers, which stood afar off: and they lifted up
14 their voices, saying, Jesus, Master, have mercy on us. And when he saw them, he said unto them, Go and shew yourselves unto the priests. And it came to pass, as they went, they were
15 cleansed. And one of them, when he saw that he was healed,
16 turned back, with a loud voice glorifying God; and he fell upon his face at his feet, giving him thanks: and he was a Samaritan.
17 And Jesus answering said, Were not the ten cleansed? but
18 where are the nine? [5]Were there none found that returned to
19 give glory to God, save this [6]stranger? And he said unto him, Arise, and go thy way: thy faith hath [7]made thee whole.

20 And being asked by the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God cometh, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God
21 cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, Lo, here! or, There! for lo, the kingdom of God is [8]within you.

22 And he said unto the disciples, The days will come, when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye
23 shall not see it. And they shall say unto you, Lo, there! Lo,
24 here! go not away, nor follow after *them*: for as the lightning, when it lighteneth out of the one part under the heaven, shineth unto the other part under heaven; so shall the Son
25 of man be [9]in his day. But first must he suffer many things and
26 be rejected of this generation. And as it came to pass in the days of Noah, even so shall it be also in the days of the Son of
27 man. They ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and
28 the flood came, and destroyed them all. Likewise even as it

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[1] Gr. *bondservant.* [2] Gr. *bondservants.* [3] Or, *as he was* [4] Or, *between* [5] Or, *There were none found . . . save this stranger.* [6] Or, *alien* [7] Or, *saved thee* [8] Or, *in the midst of you* [9] Some ancient authorities omit *in his day.*

came to pass in the days of Lot; they ate, they drank, they
29 bought, they sold, they planted, they builded; but in the day
that Lot went out from Sodom it rained fire and brimstone
30 from heaven, and destroyed them all: after the same manner
31 shall it be in the day that the Son of man is revealed. In that
day, he which shall be on the housetop, and his goods in the
house, let him not go down to take them away: and let him
32 that is in the field likewise not return back. Remember Lot's
33 wife. Whosoever shall seek to gain his [1]life shall lose it: but
34 whosoever shall lose *his* [1]*life* shall [2]preserve it. I say unto you,
In that night there shall be two men on one bed; the one shall
35 be taken, and the other shall be left. There shall be two women
grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other shall
37 be left.[3] And they answering say unto him, Where, Lord?
And he said unto them, Where the body *is*, thither will the
[4]eagles also be gathered together.

18 And he spake a parable unto them to the end that they
2 ought always to pray, and not to faint; saying, There
was in a city a judge, which feared not God, and regarded not
3 man: and there was a widow in that city; and she came oft
4 unto him, saying, [5]Avenge me of mine adversary. And he
would not for a while: but afterward he said within himself,
5 Though I fear not God, nor regard man; yet because this
widow troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest she [6]wear me out
6 by her continual coming. And the Lord said, Hear what [7]the
7 unrighteous judge saith. And shall not God avenge his elect,
which cry to him day and night, and he is longsuffering over
8 them? I say unto you, that he will avenge them speedily.
Howbeit when the Son of man cometh, shall he find [8]faith on
the earth?

9 And he spake also this parable unto certain which trusted in
themselves that they were righteous, and set [9]all others at
10 nought: Two men went up into the temple to pray; the one
11 a Pharisee, and the other a publican. The Pharisee stood and
prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee, that I am not
as the rest of men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even

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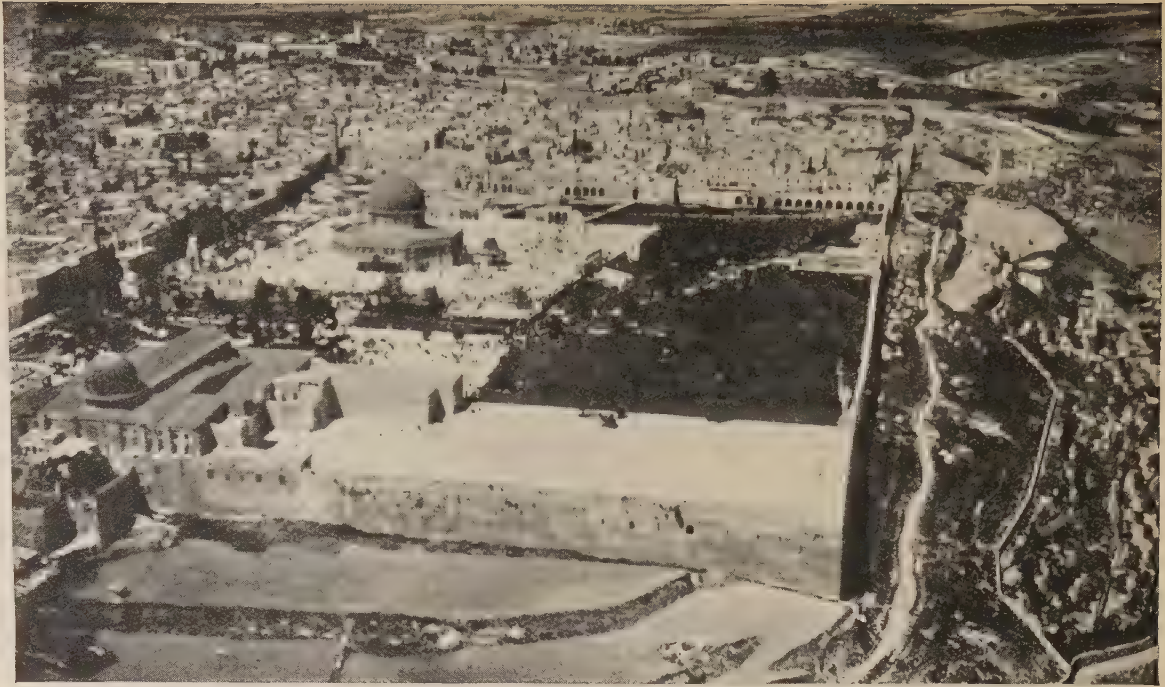
[1] Or, *soul* [2] Gr. *save it alive.* [3] Some ancient authorities add ver. 36 *There shall be two men in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.* [4] Or, *vultures* [5] Or, *Do me justice of*: and so in ver. 5, 7, 8. [6] Gr. *bruise.* [7] Gr. *the judge of unrighteousness.* [8] Or, *the faith* [9] Gr. *the rest.*



JERUSALEM, showing the Temple area. The Mosque in the centre is the Dome of the Rock

12 as this publican. I fast twice in the week; I give tithes of all
13 that I get. But the publican, standing afar off, would not lift
up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote his breast,
14 saying, God, [1]be merciful to me [2]a sinner. I say unto you,
This man went down to his house justified rather than the
other: for every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled;
but he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

## ON THE ROAD TO JERUSALEM

15 And they brought unto him also their babes, that he should
touch them: but when the disciples saw it, they rebuked them.
16 But Jesus called them unto him, saying, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the
17 kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not
receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall in no wise
enter therein.

18 And a certain ruler asked him, saying, Good [3]Master, what
19 shall I do to inherit eternal life? And Jesus said unto him,
Why callest thou me good? none is good, save one, *even* God.
20 Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery,
Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Honour
21 thy father and mother. And he said, All these things have I
22 observed from my youth up. And when Jesus heard it, he said
unto him, One thing thou lackest yet: sell all that thou hast,
and distribute unto the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in
23 heaven: and come, follow me. But when he heard these things,
24 he became exceeding sorrowful; for he was very rich. And
Jesus seeing him said, How hardly shall they that have riches
25 enter into the kingdom of God! For it is easier for a camel to
enter in through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter
26 into the kingdom of God. And they that heard it said, Then
27 who can be saved? But he said, The things which are impos-
28 sible with men are possible with God. And Peter said, Lo, we
29 have left [4]our own, and followed thee. And he said unto them,
Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house,
or wife, or brethren, or parents, or children, for the kingdom
30 of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this time,
and in the [5]world to come eternal life.

31 And he took unto him the twelve, and said unto them, Be-

---

[1] Or, *be propitiated* [2] Or, *the sinner* [3] Or, *Teacher* [4] Or, *our own* homes [5] Or, *age*

hold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all the things that are written
[1]by the prophets shall be accomplished unto the Son of man.
32 For he shall be delivered up unto the Gentiles, and shall be
33 mocked, and shamefully entreated, and spit upon: and they
shall scourge and kill him: and the third day he shall rise again.
34 And they understood none of these things; and this saying was
hid from them, and they perceived not the things that were
said.

35 And it came to pass, as he drew nigh unto Jericho, a certain
36 blind man sat by the way side begging: and hearing a multi-
37 tude going by, he inquired what this meant. And they told him,
38 that Jesus of Nazareth passeth by. And he cried, saying, Jesus,
39 thou son of David, have mercy on me. And they that went
before rebuked him, that he should hold his peace: but he cried
out the more a great deal, Thou son of David, have mercy on
40 me. And Jesus stood, and commanded him to be brought unto
41 him: and when he was come near, he asked him, What wilt thou
that I should do unto thee? And he said, Lord, that I may receive
42 my sight. And Jesus said unto him, Receive thy sight: thy
43 faith hath [2]made thee whole. And immediately he received his
sight, and followed him, glorifying God: and all the people,
when they saw it, gave praise unto God.

2 **19** And he entered and was passing through Jericho. And
behold, a man called by name Zacchæus; and he was a
3 chief publican, and he was rich. And he sought to see Jesus
who he was; and could not for the crowd, because he was little
4 of stature. And he ran on before, and climbed up into a syco-
5 more tree to see him: for he was to pass that way. And when
Jesus came to the place, he looked up, and said unto him,
Zacchæus, make haste, and come down; for to-day I must abide
6 at thy house. And he made haste, and came down, and received
7 him joyfully. And when they saw it, they all murmured, say-
8 ing, He is gone in to lodge with a man that is a sinner. And
Zacchæus stood, and said unto the Lord, Behold, Lord, the
half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have wrongfully
9 exacted aught of any man, I restore fourfold. And Jesus said
unto him, To-day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch
10 as he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of man came to
seek and to save that which was lost.

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[1] Or, *through*

[2] Or, *saved thee*

11 And as they heard these things, he added and spake a
parable, because he was nigh to Jerusalem, and *because* they
supposed that the kingdom of God was immediately to appear.
12 He said therefore, A certain nobleman went into a far country,
13 to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return. And he called
ten [1]servants of his, and gave them ten [2]pounds, and said unto
14 them, Trade ye *herewith* till I come. But his citizens hated him,
and sent an ambassage after him, saying, We will not that this
15 man reign over us. And it came to pass, when he was come
back again, having received the kingdom, that he commanded
these [1]servants, unto whom he had given the money, to be
called to him, that he might know what they had gained by
16 trading. And the first came before him, saying, Lord, thy
17 pound hath made ten pounds more. And he said unto him,
Well done, thou good [3]servant: because thou wast found faithful
18 in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities. And the
second came, saying, Thy pound, Lord, hath made five pounds.
19 And he said unto him also, Be thou also over five cities.
20 And [4]another came, saying, Lord, behold, *here is* thy pound,
21 which I kept laid up in a napkin: for I feared thee, because thou
art an austere man: thou takest up that thou layedst not down,
22 and reapest that thou didst not sow. He saith unto him, Out
of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked [3]servant.
Thou knewest that I am an austere man, taking up that I laid
23 not down, and reaping that I did not sow; then wherefore
gavest thou not my money into the bank, and [5]I at my coming
24 should have required it with interest? And he said unto them
that stood by, Take away from him the pound, and give it
25 unto him that hath the ten pounds. And they said unto him,
26 Lord, he hath ten pounds. I say unto you, that unto every one
that hath shall be given; but from him that hath not, even that
27 which he hath shall be taken away from him. Howbeit these
mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them,
bring hither, and slay them before me.

28 And when he had thus spoken, he went on before, going up
to Jerusalem.

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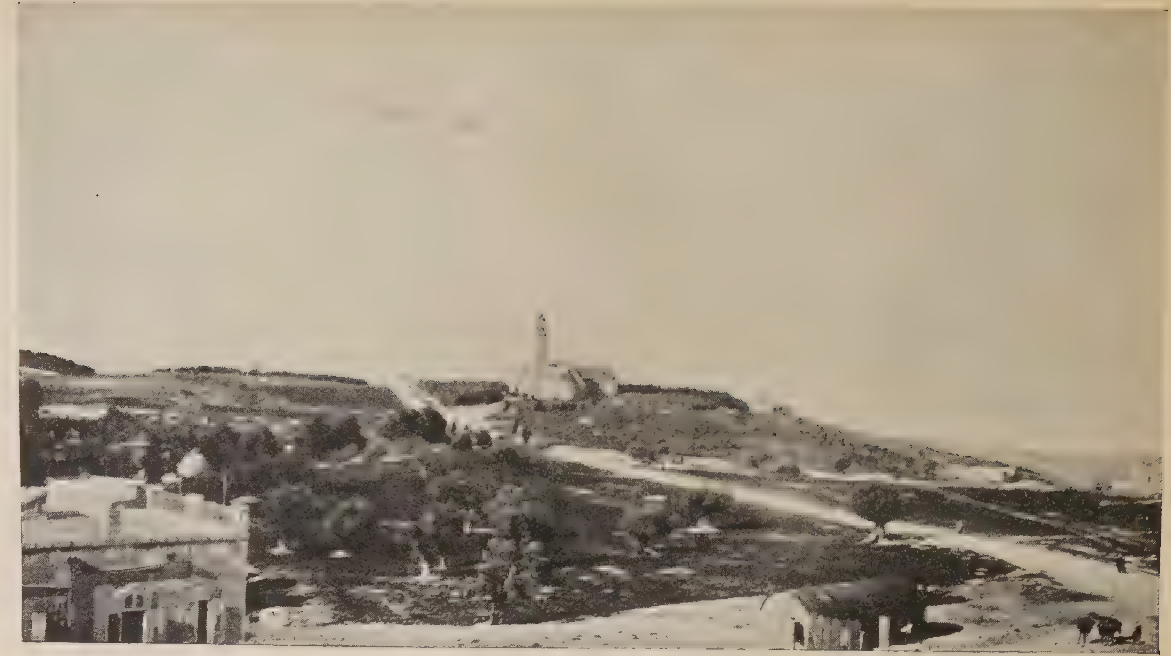
[1] Gr. *bondservants*. [2] *Mina*, here translated a pound, is equal to one hundred drachmas. See ch. xv. 8. [3] Gr. *bondservant*. [4] Gr. *the other*. [5] Or, *I should have gone and required*



THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

## AT JERUSALEM. THE PASSION AND RESURRECTION

### *Entry into Jerusalem. Last Days of Public Teaching*

29 And it came to pass, when he drew nigh unto Bethphage and
Bethany, at the mount that is called *the mount* of Olives, he
30 sent two of the disciples, saying, Go your way into the village
over against *you*; in the which as ye enter ye shall find a colt
tied, whereon no man ever yet sat: loose him, and bring him.
31 And if any one ask you, Why do ye loose him? thus shall ye say,
32 The Lord hath need of him. And they that were sent went away,
33 and found even as he had said unto them. And as they were
loosing the colt, the owners thereof said unto them, Why loose ye
34 the colt? And they said, The Lord hath need of him. And they
35 brought him to Jesus: and they threw their garments upon the
36 colt, and set Jesus thereon. And as he went, they spread their
37 garments in the way. And as he was now drawing nigh, *even*
at the descent of the mount of Olives, the whole multitude of
the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice
38 for all the [1]mighty works which they had seen; saying, Blessed
*is* the King that cometh in the name of the Lord: peace in
39 heaven, and glory in the highest. And some of the Pharisees
from the multitude said unto him, [2]Master, rebuke thy dis-
40 ciples. And he answered and said, I tell you that, if these shall
hold their peace, the stones will cry out.

41 And when he drew nigh, he saw the city and wept over it,
42 saying, [3]If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things
which belong unto peace! but now they are hid from thine
43 eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, when thine enemies
shall cast up a [4]bank about thee, and compass thee round, and
44 keep thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground,
and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee
one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of
thy visitation.

45 And he entered into the temple, and began to cast out them
46 that sold, saying unto them, It is written, And my house shall
be a house of prayer: but ye have made it a den of robbers.

47 And he was teaching daily in the temple. But the chief
priests and the scribes and the principal men of the people
48 sought to destroy him: and they could not find what they
might do; for the people all hung upon him, listening.

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[1] Gr. *powers.* [2] Or, *Teacher.* [3] Or, *O that thou hadst known* [4] Gr. *palisade.*

20 And it came to pass, on one of the days, as he was teaching the people in the temple, and preaching the gospel, there came upon him the chief priests and the scribes with the elders;
2 and they spake, saying unto him, Tell us: By what authority doest thou these things? or who is he that gave thee this
3 authority? And he answered and said unto them, I also will
4 ask you a [1]question; and tell me: The baptism of John, was it
5 from heaven, or from men? And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven; he will say, Why
6 did ye not believe him? But if we shall say, From men; all the people will stone us: for they be persuaded that John was
7 a prophet. And they answered, that they knew not whence
8 *it was*. And Jesus said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.

9 And he began to speak unto the people this parable: A man planted a vineyard, and let it out to husbandmen, and went
10 into another country for a long time. And at the season he sent unto the husbandmen a [2]servant, that they should give him of the fruit of the vineyard: but the husbandmen beat him,
11 and sent him away empty. And he sent yet another [2]servant: and him also they beat, and handled him shamefully, and sent
12 him away empty. And he sent yet a third: and him also they
13 wounded, and cast him forth. And the lord of the vineyard said, What shall I do? I will send my beloved son: it may be
14 they will reverence him. But when the husbandmen saw him, they reasoned one with another, saying, This is the heir: let us
15 kill him, that the inheritance may be ours. And they cast him forth out of the vineyard, and killed him. What therefore will
16 the lord of the vineyard do unto them? He will come and destroy these husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto
17 others. And when they heard it, they said, [3]God forbid. But he looked upon them, and said, What then is this that is written,

The stone which the builders rejected,
The same was made the head of the corner?

18 Every one that falleth on that stone shall be broken to pieces; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will scatter him as dust.

19 And the scribes and the chief priests sought to lay hands on him in that very hour; and they feared the people: for they
20 perceived that he spake this parable against them. And they

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[1] Gr. *word*. [2] Gr. *bondservant*. [3] Gr. *Be it not so*.

watched him, and sent forth spies, which feigned themselves
to be righteous, that they might take hold of his speech, so as
to deliver him up to the rule and to the authority of the
21 governor. And they asked him, saying, [1]Master, we know that
thou sayest and teachest rightly, and acceptest not the person
22 *of any*, but of a truth teachest the way of God: Is it lawful for
23 us to give tribute unto Cæsar, or not? But he perceived their
24 craftiness, and said unto them, Shew me a [2]penny. Whose
image and superscription hath it? And they said, Cæsar's.
25 And he said unto them, Then render unto Cæsar the things that
26 are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. And
they were not able to take hold of the saying before the people:
and they marvelled at his answer, and held their peace.

27 And there came to him certain of the Sadducees, they which
28 say that there is no resurrection; and they asked him, saying,
[1]Master, Moses wrote unto us, that if a man's brother die,
having a wife, and he be childless, his brother should take the
29 wife, and raise up seed unto his brother. There were therefore
30 seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and died childless;
31 and the second; and the third took her; and likewise the seven
32 also left no children, and died. Afterward the woman also died.
33 In the resurrection therefore whose wife of them shall she be?
34 for the seven had her to wife. And Jesus said unto them, The
35 sons of this [3]world marry, and are given in marriage: but they
that are accounted worthy to attain to that [3]world, and the
resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in
36 marriage: for neither can they die any more: for they are equal
unto the angels; and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrec-
37 tion. But that the dead are raised, even Moses shewed, in *the
place concerning* the Bush, when he calleth the Lord the God of
38 Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Now
he is not the God of the dead, but of the living: for all live unto
39 him. And certain of the scribes answering said, [1]Master, thou
40 hast well said. For they durst not any more ask him any question.

41 And he said unto them, How say they that the Christ is
42 David's son? For David himself saith in the book of Psalms,

The Lord said unto my Lord,
Sit thou on my right hand,
43 Till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet.

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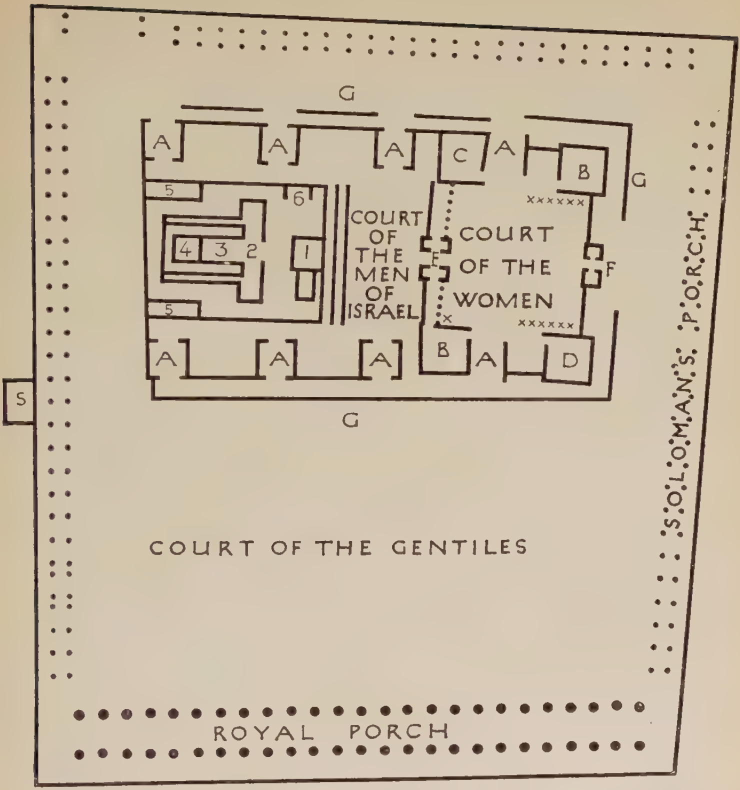
[1] Or, *Teacher* [2] See marginal note on Matt. xviii. 28. [3] Or, *age*



1 Altar. 2 Porch. 3 Sanctuary. 4 Holy of Holies. 5 Subsidiary rooms. 6 Slaughter House.

A Gates. B Storerooms for wood and oil. C Lepers' chamber. D Nazirites' chamber. E Beautiful Gate. F Entrance to Court of the Women. G Partition Wall. X Alms Boxes. S Conjectural site of Council Chamber.

44 David therefore calleth him Lord, and how is he his son?
45 And in the hearing of all the people he said unto his dis-
46 ciples, Beware of the scribes, which desire to walk in long robes,
and love salutations in the marketplaces, and chief seats in the
47 synagogues, and chief places at feasts; which devour widows'
houses, and for a pretence make long prayers: these shall
receive greater condemnation.

21 And he looked up, [1]and saw the rich men that were
2 casting their gifts into the treasury. And he saw a
3 certain poor widow casting in thither two mites. And he said,
Of a truth I say unto you, This poor widow cast in more than
4 they all: for all these did of their superfluity cast in unto the
gifts: but she of her want did cast in all the living that she had.

## *The Apocalyptic Discourse*

5 And as some spake of the temple, how it was adorned with
6 goodly stones and offerings, he said, As for these things which
ye behold, the days will come, in which there shall not be left
here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.
7 And they asked him, saying, [2]Master, when therefore shall
these things be? and what *shall be* the sign when these things are
8 about to come to pass? And he said, Take heed that ye be not
led astray: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am *he*;
9 and, The time is at hand: go ye not after them. And when ye
shall hear of wars and tumults, be not terrified: for these things
must needs come to pass first; but the end is not immediately.
10 Then said he unto them, Nation shall rise against nation, and
11 kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be great earth-
quakes, and in divers places famines and pestilences; and there
12 shall be terrors and great signs from heaven. But before all
these things, they shall lay their hands on you, and shall perse-
cute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and prisons,
[3]bringing you before kings and governors for my name's sake.
13 It shall turn unto you for a testimony. Settle it therefore in
14 your hearts, not to meditate beforehand how to answer: for
15 I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries
16 shall not be able to withstand or to gainsay. But ye shall be
delivered up even by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolk, and
friends; and *some* of you [4]shall they cause to be put to death.

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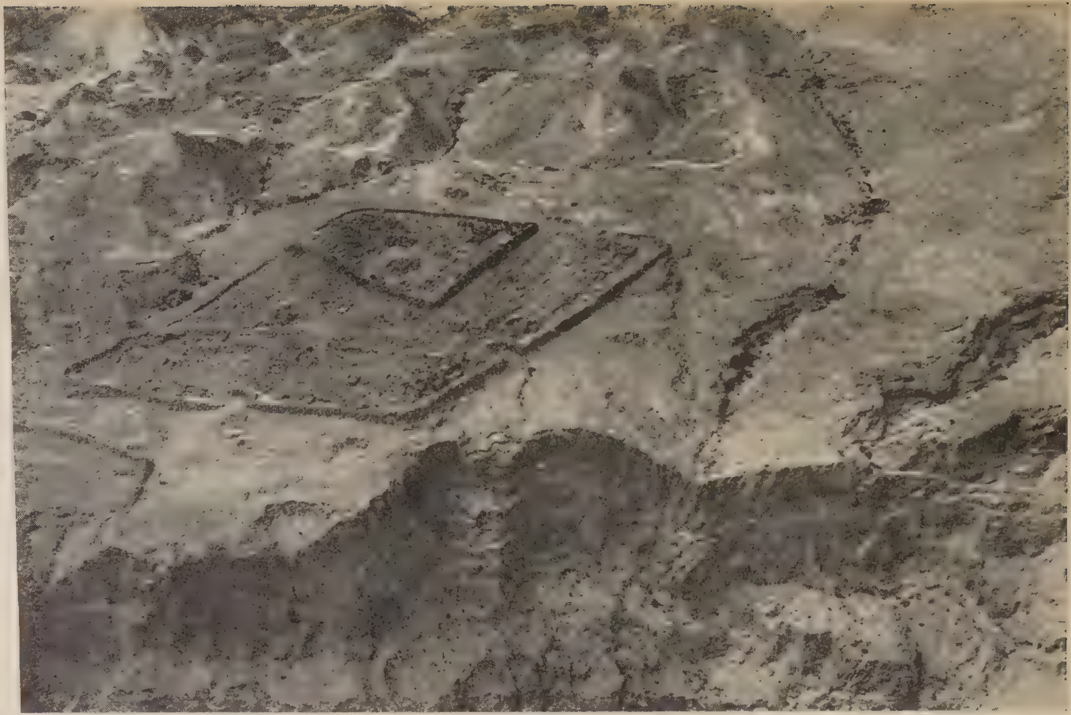
[1] Or, *and saw them that . . . treasury, and they were rich.* [2] Or, *Teacher* [3] Gr. you *being brought.* [4] Or, *shall they put to death*



‘Then let them that are in Judæa flee unto the mountains.’ An air-photograph of a Roman camp built in A.D. 72 at the siege of the rock of Masada, where the Jews made their last stand against Titus

*Royal Air Force official—Crown copyright reserved*

17 And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake. And not
18 a hair of your head shall perish. In your patience ye shall win
19 your [1]souls.

20 But when ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then
21 know that her desolation is at hand. Then let them that are in
Judæa flee unto the mountains; and let them that are in the
midst of her depart out; and let not them that are in the
22 country enter therein. For these are days of vengeance, that
23 all things which are written may be fulfilled. Woe unto them
that are with child and to them that give suck in those days!
for there shall be great distress upon the [2]land, and wrath unto
24 this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and
shall be led captive into all the nations: and Jerusalem shall
be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles
25 be fulfilled. And there shall be signs in sun and moon and stars;
and upon the earth distress of nations, in perplexity for the
26 roaring of the sea and the billows; men [3]fainting for fear, and
for expectation of the things which are coming on [4]the world:
27 for the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. And then shall
they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and
28 great glory. But when these things begin to come to pass,
look up, and lift up your heads; because your redemption
draweth nigh.

29 And he spake to them a parable: Behold the fig tree, and all
30 the trees: when they now shoot forth, ye see it and know of
31 your own selves that the summer is now nigh. Even so ye
also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that the
32 kingdom of God is nigh. Verily I say unto you, This generation
33 shall not pass away, till all things be accomplished. Heaven
and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away.

34 But take heed to yourselves, lest haply your hearts be overcharged
with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this
35 life, and that day come on you suddenly as a snare: for *so*
shall it come upon all them that dwell on the face of all the
36 earth. But watch ye at every season, making supplication,
that ye may prevail to escape all these things that shall come
to pass, and to stand before the Son of man.

37 And every day he was teaching in the temple; and every
night he went out, and lodged in the mount that is called *the*

[1] Or, *lives* [2] Or, *earth* [3] Or, *expiring* [4] Gr. *the inhabited earth.*

38 *mount* of Olives. And all the people came early in the morning to him in the temple, to hear him.

### *The Last Supper, Betrayal and Arrest*

22 Now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, which is
2 called the Passover. And the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might put him to death; for they feared the people.

3 And Satan entered into Judas who was called Iscariot, being
4 of the number of the twelve. And he went away, and communed with the chief priests and captains, how he might
5 deliver him unto them. And they were glad, and covenanted
6 to give him money. And he consented, and sought opportunity to deliver him unto them [1]in the absence of the multitude.

7 And the day of unleavened bread came, on which the pass-
8 over must be sacrificed. And he sent Peter and John, saying,
9 Go and make ready for us the passover, that we may eat. And they said unto him, Where wilt thou that we make ready?
10 And he said unto them, Behold, when ye are entered into the city, there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water;
11 follow him into the house whereinto he goeth. And ye shall say unto the goodman of the house, The [2]Master saith unto thee, Where is the guest-chamber, where I shall eat the passover
12 with my disciples? And he will shew you a large upper room
13 furnished: there make ready. And they went, and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover.

14 And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the apostles
15 with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired
16 to eat this passover with you before I suffer: for I say unto you, I will not eat it, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.
17 And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said,
18 Take this, and divide it among yourselves: for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the
19 kingdom of God shall come. And he took [3]bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body [4]which is given for you: this do in remembrance of
20 me. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new [5]covenant in my blood, *even* that which is poured

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[1] Or, *without tumult* [2] Or, *Teacher* [3] Or, *a loaf* [4] Some ancient authorities omit *which is given for you . . . which is poured out for you.*
[5] Or, *testament*

21 out for you. But behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me
22 is with me on the table. For the Son of man indeed goeth, as
it hath been determined: but woe unto that man through
23 whom he is betrayed! And they began to question among
themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing.

24 And there arose also a contention among them, which of
25 them is accounted to be [1]greatest. And he said unto them,
The kings of the Gentiles have lordship over them; and they
26 that have authority over them are called Benefactors. But ye
*shall* not *be* so: but he that is the greater among you, let him
become as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth
27 serve. For whether is greater, he that [2]sitteth at meat, or he
that serveth? is not he that [2]sitteth at meat? but I am in the
28 midst of you as he that serveth. But ye are they which have
29 continued with me in my temptations; and [3]I appoint unto
30 you a kingdom, even as my Father appointed unto me, that
ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom; and ye shall
31 sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Simon,
Simon, behold, Satan [4]asked to have you, that he might sift
32 you as wheat: but I made supplication for thee, that thy faith
fail not: and do thou, when once thou hast turned again,
33 stablish thy brethren. And he said unto him, Lord, with thee
34 I am ready to go both to prison and to death. And he said,
I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, until thou
shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.

35 And he said unto them, When I sent you forth without purse,
and wallet, and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said,
36 Nothing. And he said unto them, But now, he that hath a
purse, let him take it, and likewise a wallet: [5]and he that hath
37 none, let him sell his cloke, and buy a sword. For I say unto
you, that this which is written must be fulfilled in me, And
he was reckoned with transgressors: for that which concerneth
38 me hath [6]fulfilment. And they said, Lord, behold, here are two
swords. And he said unto them, It is enough.

39 And he came out, and went, as his custom was, unto the
40 mount of Olives; and the disciples also followed him. And
when he was at the place, he said unto them, Pray that ye enter

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[1] Gr. *greater*. [2] Gr. *reclineth*. [3] Or, *I appoint unto you, even as my Father appointed unto me a kingdom, that ye may eat and drink &c.* [4] Or, *obtained you by asking* [5] Or, *and he that hath no sword, let him sell his cloke, and buy one.* [6] Gr. *end.*

41 not into temptation. And he was parted from them about a
42 stone's cast; and he kneeled down and prayed, saying, Father,
if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless not
43 my will, but thine, be done. [1]And there appeared unto him an
44 angel from heaven, strengthening him. And being in an agony
he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat became as it were
45 great drops of blood falling down upon the ground. And when
he rose up from his prayer, he came unto the disciples, and

The Agony in the Garden, represented on an ivory of the thirteenth century

46 found them sleeping for sorrow, and said unto them, Why
sleep ye? rise and pray, that ye enter not into temptation.
47 While he yet spake, behold, a multitude, and he that was
called Judas, one of the twelve, went before them; and he
48 drew near unto Jesus to kiss him. But Jesus said unto him,
49 Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss? And when
they that were about him saw what would follow, they said,
50 Lord, shall we smite with the sword? And a certain one of
them smote the [2]servant of the high priest, and struck off his
51 right ear. But Jesus answered and said, Suffer ye thus far.
52 And he touched his ear, and healed him. And Jesus said unto
the chief priests, and captains of the temple, and elders, which
were come against him, Are ye come out, as against a robber,
53 with swords and staves? When I was daily with you in the

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[1] Many ancient authorities omit ver. 43, 44.

[2] Gr. *bondservant.*

temple, ye stretched not forth your hands against me: but this
is your hour, and the power of darkness.

54 And they seized him, and led him *away*, and brought him
55 into the high priest's house. But Peter followed afar off. And
when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the court, and had
56 sat down together, Peter sat in the midst of them. And a
certain maid seeing him as he sat in the light *of the fire*, and
looking stedfastly upon him, said, This man also was with him.
57 But he denied, saying, Woman, I know him not. And after a
58 little while another saw him, and said, Thou also art *one* of
59 them. But Peter said, Man, I am not. And after the space of
about one hour another confidently affirmed, saying, Of a truth
60 this man also was with him: for he is a Galilæan. But Peter
said, Man, I know not what thou sayest. And immediately,
61 while he yet spake, the cock crew. And the Lord turned, and
looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the
Lord, how that he said unto him, Before the cock crow this
62 day, thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out, and wept
bitterly.

63 And the men that held [1]*Jesus* mocked him, and beat him.
64 And they blindfolded him, and asked him, saying, Prophesy:
65 who is he that struck thee? And many other things spake
they against him, reviling him.

### *The Trials before the Sanhedrin, Pilate, and Herod*

66 And as soon as it was day, the assembly of the elders of the
people was gathered together, both chief priests and scribes;
67 and they led him away into their council, saying, If thou art
the Christ, tell us. But he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will
68 not believe: and if I ask *you*, ye will not answer. But from
69 henceforth shall the Son of man be seated at the right hand of
70 the power of God. And they all said, Art thou then the Son of
71 God? And he said unto them, [2]Ye say that I am. And they
said, What further need have we of witness? for we ourselves
have heard from his own mouth.

23 And the whole company of them rose up, and brought
2 him before Pilate. And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding
to give tribute to Cæsar, and saying that he himself is [3]Christ
3 a king. And Pilate asked him, saying, Art thou the King of

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[1] Gr. *him*. [2] Or, *Ye say* it, *because I am*. [3] Or, *an anointed king*

4 the Jews? And he answered him and said, Thou sayest. And
Pilate said unto the chief priests and the multitudes, I find no
5 fault in this man. But they were the more urgent, saying, He
stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judæa, and
6 beginning from Galilee even unto this place. But when Pilate
7 heard it, he asked whether the man were a Galilæan. And
when he knew that he was of Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him
unto Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem in these days.

8 Now when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad: for he
was of a long time desirous to see him, because he had heard
concerning him; and he hoped to see some [1]miracle done by
9 him. And he questioned him in many words; but he answered
10 him nothing. And the chief priests and the scribes stood,
11 vehemently accusing him. And Herod with his soldiers set
him at nought, and mocked him, and arraying him in gorgeous
12 apparel sent him back to Pilate. And Herod and Pilate became
friends with each other that very day: for before they were at
enmity between themselves.

13 And Pilate called together the chief priests and the rulers
14 and the people, and said unto them, Ye brought unto me this
man, as one that perverteth the people: and behold, I, having
examined him before you, found no fault in this man touching
15 those things whereof ye accuse him: no, nor yet Herod: for he
sent him back unto us; and behold, nothing worthy of death
16 hath been done by him. I will therefore chastise him, and
18 release him.[2] But they cried out all together, saying, Away
19 with this man, and release unto us Barabbas: one who for a
certain insurrection made in the city, and for murder, was cast
20 into prison. And Pilate spake unto them again, desiring to
21 release Jesus; but they shouted, saying, Crucify, crucify him.
22 And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath
this man done? I have found no cause of death in him: I will
therefore chastise him and release him. But they were instant
23 with loud voices, asking that he might be crucified. And their
24 voices prevailed. And Pilate gave sentence that what they
25 asked for should be done. And he released him that for insurrection
and murder had been cast into prison, whom they asked
for; but Jesus he delivered up to their will.

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[1] Gr. *sign.* [2] Many ancient authorities insert ver. 17 *Now he must needs release unto them at the feast one* prisoner. Others add the same words after ver. 19.

*The Way of the Cross: Crucifixion and Burial*

26 And when they led him away, they laid hold upon one Simon of Cyrene, coming from the country, and laid on him the cross, to bear it after Jesus.

27 And there followed him a great multitude of the people,
28 and of women who bewailed and lamented him. But Jesus turning unto them said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for
29 me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For behold, the days are coming, in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the breasts
30 that never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the
31 mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us. For if they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

32 And there were also two others, malefactors, led with him to be put to death.

33 And when they came unto the place which is called [1]The skull, there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the
34 right hand and the other on the left. [2]And Jesus said, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. And parting
35 his garments among them, they cast lots. And the people stood beholding. And the rulers also scoffed at him, saying, He saved others; let him save himself, if this is the Christ of God, his
36 chosen. And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him,
37 offering him vinegar, and saying, If thou art the King of the
38 Jews, save thyself. And there was also a superscription over him, THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS.

39 And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him,
40 saying, Art not thou the Christ? save thyself and us. But the other answered, and rebuking him said, Dost thou not even
41 fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we
42 indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds; but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said, Jesus, remem-
43 ber me when thou comest [3]in thy kingdom. And he said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.

44 And it was now about the sixth hour, and a darkness came
45 over the whole [4]land until the ninth hour, [5]the sun's light

[1] According to the Latin, *Calvary*, which has the same meaning.
[2] Some ancient authorities omit *And Jesus said, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.*
[3] Some ancient authorities read *into thy kingdom.*
[4] Or, *earth*
[5] Gr. *the sun failing*

failing: and the veil of the [1]temple was rent in the midst.
46 [2]And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father,
into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said this,
47 he gave up the ghost. And when the centurion saw what was
done, he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous
48 man. And all the multitudes that came together to this sight,
when they beheld the things that were done, returned smiting
49 their breasts. And all his acquaintance, and the women that
followed with him from Galilee, stood afar off, seeing these
things.

50 And behold, a man named Joseph, who was a councillor,
51 a good man and a righteous (he had not consented to their
counsel and deed), *a man* of Arimathæa, a city of the Jews,
52 who was looking for the kingdom of God: this man went to
53 Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus. And he took it down,
and wrapped it in a linen cloth, and laid him in a tomb that
54 was hewn in stone, where never man had yet lain. And it was
55 the day of the Preparation, and the sabbath [3]drew on. And
the women, which had come with him out of Galilee, followed
56 after, and beheld the tomb, and how his body was laid. And
they returned, and prepared spices and ointments.

And on the sabbath they rested according to the commandment.

## *The Resurrection and Ascension*

24 But on the first day of the week, at early dawn, they
came unto the tomb, bringing the spices which they had
2 prepared. And they found the stone rolled away from the
3 tomb. And they entered in, and found not the body [4]of the
4 Lord Jesus. And it came to pass, while they were perplexed
thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in dazzling
5 apparel: and as they were affrighted, and bowed down their
faces to the earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye [5]the living
6 among the dead? [6]He is not here, but is risen: remember how
7 he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, saying that the
Son of man must be delivered up into the hands of sinful men,
8 and be crucified, and the third day rise again. And they remem-

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[1] Or, *sanctuary*
[2] Or, *And Jesus, crying with a loud voice, said*
[3] Gr. *began to dawn.*
[4] Some ancient authorities omit *of the Lord Jesus.*
[5] Gr. *him that liveth.*
[6] Some ancient authorities omit *He is not here, but is risen.*

9 bered his words, and returned [1]from the tomb, and told all
10 these things to the eleven, and to all the rest. Now they were
Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the *mother* of James:
and the other women with them told these things unto the
11 apostles. And these words appeared in their sight as idle talk;
12 and they disbelieved them. [2]But Peter arose, and ran unto
the tomb; and stooping and looking in, he seeth the linen
cloths by themselves; and he [3]departed to his home, wondering
at that which was come to pass.

13 And behold, two of them were going that very day to a
village named Emmaus, which was threescore furlongs from
14 Jerusalem. And they communed with each other of all these
15 things which had happened. And it came to pass, while they
communed and questioned together, that Jesus himself drew
16 near, and went with them. But their eyes were holden that
17 they should not know him. And he said unto them, [4]What
communications are these that ye have one with another, as
18 ye walk? And they stood still, looking sad. And one of them,
named Cleopas, answering said unto him, [5]Dost thou alone
sojourn in Jerusalem and not know the things which are come to
19 pass there in these days? And he said unto them, What things?
And they said unto him, The things concerning Jesus of
Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before
20 God and all the people: and how the chief priests and our rulers
delivered him up to be condemned to death, and crucified him.
21 But we hoped that it was he which should redeem Israel. Yea
and beside all this, it is now the third day since these things
22 came to pass. Moreover certain women of our company
23 amazed us, having been early at the tomb; and when they
found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen
24 a vision of angels, which said that he was alive. And certain
of them that were with us went to the tomb, and found it even
25 so as the women had said: but him they saw not. And he said
unto them, O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe [6]in all
26 that the prophets have spoken! Behoved it not the Christ to
27 suffer these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning
from Moses and from all the prophets, he interpreted to them

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[1] Some ancient authorities omit *from the tomb*. [2] Some ancient authorities omit ver. 12. [3] Or, *departed, wondering with himself* [4] Gr. *What words are these that ye exchange one with another*. [5] Or, *Dost thou sojourn alone in Jerusalem, and knowest thou not the things* [6] Or, *after*

28 in all the scriptures the things concerning himself. And they
drew nigh unto the village, whither they were going: and he
29 made as though he would go further. And they constrained
him, saying, Abide with us: for it is toward evening, and the
30 day is now far spent. And he went in to abide with them. And
it came to pass, when he had sat down with them to meat, he
took the [1]bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them.
31 And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he van-
32 ished out of their sight. And they said one to another, Was not
our heart burning within us, while he spake to us in the way,
33 while he opened to us the scriptures? And they rose up that
very hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven
34 gathered together, and them that were with them, saying,
35 The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon. And
they rehearsed the things *that happened* in the way, and how
he was known of them in the breaking of the bread.

36 And as they spake these things, he himself stood in the midst
37 of them, [2]and saith unto them, Peace *be* unto you. But they
were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they beheld
38 a spirit. And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and
39 wherefore do reasonings arise in your heart? See my hands
and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit
40 hath not flesh and bones, as ye behold me having. [3]And when
41 he had said this, he shewed them his hands and his feet. And
while they still disbelieved for joy, and wondered, he said unto
42 them, Have ye here anything to eat? And they gave him a
43 piece of a broiled fish.[4] And he took it, and did eat before them.

44 And he said unto them, These are my words which I spake
unto you, while I was yet with you, how that all things must
needs be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and
45 the prophets, and the psalms, concerning me. Then opened he
46 their mind, that they might understand the scriptures; and he
said unto them, Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer,
47 and rise again from the dead the third day; and that repent-
ance [5]and remission of sins should be preached in his name unto
48 all the [6]nations, beginning from Jerusalem. Ye are witnesses

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[1] Or, *loaf*

[2] Some ancient authorities omit *and saith unto them, Peace* be *unto you.*

[3] Some ancient authorities omit ver. 40.

[4] Many ancient authorities add *and a honeycomb.*

[5] Some ancient authorities read *unto.*

[6] Or, *nations. Beginning from Jerusalem, ye are witnesses*

49 of these things. And behold, I send forth the promise of my
Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city, until ye be clothed
with power from on high.
50 And he led them out until *they were* over against Bethany:
51 and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to
pass, while he blessed them, he parted from them, [1]and was
52 carried up into heaven. And they [2]worshipped him, and re-
53 turned to Jerusalem with great joy: and were continually in the
temple, blessing God.

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[1] Some ancient authorities omit *and was carried up into heaven.* [2] Some ancient authorities omit *worshipped him, and.*

# COMMENTARY

## $1^{1-4}$. PREFACE. SOURCES AND OBJECT

S. Luke's history opens with a formal dedication combined with a brief explanatory preface. In style this is similar to the conventional introductions used by the Greek historians. It is written in stately and excellent Greek, reproducing the classical periodic sentence and classical idiom. From a literary point of view it is a model preface. Only an educated man of taste and some literary training could have written it.

This preface throws important light on the historical origins of our New Testament records. (1) They are the survivors from a larger number of writings. S. Luke refers to 'many' writers, known to him; of those whom he might conceivably have had in mind, only one, S. Mark, has left us his 'narrative', and S. Luke is no doubt thinking mainly of Mk. here. The question, why are there four canonical gospels? neither more nor less, has an interest beyond that of mere speculation. It is very unlikely that four gospels have come down to us by mere accident. We might have expected either *one* official account, such as for instance was attempted by Tatian in his Diatessaron, or the preservation as canonical of *all* the early and presumably apostolic stories of the Church's Lord. What we actually get is our four canonical gospels, one of which is almost entirely incorporated in two of the others: Mk. is found imbedded in Matt. and Lk., so that S. Augustine (wrongly, as we know now) regarded S. Mark as a mere 'abbreviator' of Matt. A probable explanation is provided by Streeter. Acting on the hint given by the ancient and well-founded tradition that Mk. was closely associated with Rome and S. Peter, John with Ephesus and S. John, he has worked out the theory that each of our four gospels contains, so to speak, the local gospel of an important church, and that the prestige of these churches secured the acceptance within the canon of their official records. Thus the Roman Church was good enough guarantee for the value of Mk., the church at Ephesus for John. Similarly we may associate Matt. with Antioch, and Lk. possibly with Caesarea. (See the discussion in the Introduction.)

(2) S. Luke writes in order to set forth the carefully ascertained historical basis of the oral teaching given to converts. The N.T. is to be seen against a background of what we should call 'church

teaching' of a rudimentary kind: we can see this illustrated by references in Acts and in S. Paul's letters. It included the Resurrection and Messianic dignity of the Lord, baptismal incorporation into the Church, and the meetings for worship and the Eucharist.

The dedication is to Theophilus, addressed as 'most excellent' (κράτιστε), a conventional term of respect for persons holding official positions.[1] There seems no reason to doubt the *prima facie* impression that Theophilus is a real person, though some have suggested that the name stands for the typical converted Gentile. The only reason for this suggestion is that the Greek name Theophilus is strange for a Roman official of the first century. But this fact is better explained by saying, with Streeter,[2] that 'the name Theophilus in the Lucan prefaces looks like a prudential pseudonym for some Roman of position'. There is no certainty who he was. In the apocryphal Acts he is said to have been a high imperial official at Caesarea, father of the centurion Cornelius, but this looks like a later invention. Streeter[3] says 'it is not impossible that Theophilus was the secret name by which Flavius Clemens was known to the Roman Church'. T. Flavius Clemens was an eminent victim of the jealousy of Domitian, who put him to death in 96. They were first cousins, and Flavius was Consul with Domitian in 95, his two sons being marked out by Domitian for the purple. Flavius' wife, Domitilla, was a sympathiser with the Christians, if not actually a Christian. See further, Lightfoot, *Clement,* vol. i, pp. 29 ff.; Streeter, *Four Gospels*, pp. 534 ff.

$1^2$. *eyewitnesses and ministers of the word.* Mk., Q, and S. Luke's special source or sources all contain first-hand information concerning the life of Jesus, but S. Luke is working at second hand: it is very unlikely that he had ever seen the Lord in the flesh.

$1^3$. *having traced.* He claims special qualifications for the work he has undertaken. He has made an 'accurate' study of 'all things' 'from the first', so that he can write 'in order'; that is, he has arranged his material systematically, as a historian consciously compiling an important work. Both as investigator and as writer S. Luke has been put into the same category as a Polybius or a Livy, and the most eminent of modern authorities on ancient history, Eduard Meyer, treats him as such. But it should be remembered that he is not writing for a literary class, as the ancient historians were.

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[1] Cf. Acts $23^{26}$, $24^{3}$, $26^{25}$.

[2] *Four Gospels*, p. 534.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 539.

## $1^{5}$-$2^{52}$. BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS OF JOHN AND JESUS

Though abundant marks of the writer's style are found in this section, obvious differences from the style of the preface appear. Instead of the idiomatic and flowing Greek of the preface, a strongly Semitic flavour tinges the narrative. The source or sources which S. Luke employed for these two chapters are not known to us, but the probabilities seem to fall into two divisions. What we have before us is 'a narrative which in both style and substance is either a deliberate imitation, or else was written by a Christian of Jewish birth and culture and incorporated by our evangelist after such superficial changes as translation and revision would imply'.[1] Harnack and others have preferred the first theory, namely, that S. Luke is consciously 'archaizing'. They suppose that he went back to the Septuagint (the Greek version of the O.T. made at Alexandria under the Ptolemies for the use of the Greek-speaking Jews of the Dispersion), and in particular to the story of Hannah in 1 Sam. 1 and 2, adapting his style to the simple idyllic story he had to tell, and deliberately using an un-Greek manner of writing. The biblical Greek of the Septuagint has certainly influenced S. Luke's style throughout his work, but this passage shows much more than his normal Hebraistic colouring. We must give due weight to the fact that S. Luke was a Greek-speaking Gentile; it is more probable that he might *translate* literally from a foreign speech (or use a translation made for him) to preserve a quality which he felt was appropriate to his subject than that he should manufacture *de novo* wholly un-Greek turns of phrase.[2] The majority of scholars, therefore, hold that S. Luke is here translating for the most part from an Aramaic document or documents, and preserving the form of his source.

## NOTE A. THE VIRGIN BIRTH

The Lucan nativity stories are universally acknowledged to be a literary masterpiece: they are the work of an imaginative artist of great skill and sensitive delicacy of taste. When we come to consider the much debated question of the historical character of the main facts alleged in the narrative, it is of great importance to see exactly how much is involved in the imaginative quality which the story plainly possesses. Obviously the writer has 'worked up' his material; in particular, he has used the traditional symbols of Jewish piety, angelic visions, and colloquies, the literary forms and phraseology of the classics of Hebrew literature: the whole story is steeped in the religious idiom of the Old Testament. This is the line along which the imaginative activity of the writer might naturally be expected to go, and we are throughout in the realm of art, not of scientific description. The *form* of the narrative is that of the religious legend. This, however, in no way implies that the story is a fiction and the main facts from which it is built up imaginary. Shaw's *Saint Joan* is an imaginative work of art; but the saint herself is an historical person who did champion her country's cause and meet a cruel death. S. Luke is recording what he believes to be facts of history: these facts he clothes with an appropriate art-form. This distinction between the setting of the story and the story itself is the first essential in the attempt to determine the historical facts.

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[1] B. W. Bacon, *Hibbert Journal*, April 1925.

[2] Especially such as e.g. $1^{51}$ *ἐποίησε κράτος ἐν βραχίονι αὐτοῦ*, $1^{69}$ *ἤγειρε κέρας σωτηρίας ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Δαβίδ*, to which Streeter draws attention, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

But though necessary this distinction does not carry us far. We have still to discover what parts of the narrative belong to the setting and what parts to the historical facts. This second question, of little importance in regard to many of the details, becomes urgent when we come to the central point, the story of the virgin birth of Jesus, where the modern mind, unlike the ancient, finds grave difficulties. Is the virgin birth a fiction, or a fact presented with imaginative colouring?

The main points of importance in the critical investigation of this problem are as follows:

1. The integrity of the text.
2. The historical evidence for the virgin birth.
3. The philosophical problem of miracle.

## I

It has been held by some scholars (e.g. Schmiedel, *Encyc. Bibl.* article 'Mary') that S. Luke did not teach the virgin birth, and that the two all-important verses $1^{34,35}$ 'disturb the connexion so manifestly that we are compelled to regard them as a later insertion'. This would doubtless settle the question, so far as concerns the study of the third Gospel, if it were well founded. But Dr. Vincent Taylor (in *The Virgin Birth*, pp. 57 ff.), by a careful examination of the language of these verses, has proved that on linguistic grounds 'our unknown interpolator is a mythical personage'. The cumulative argument is based on the Greek text, and cannot be reproduced here. It must suffice to say that these verses are so thoroughly and characteristically Lucan in vocabulary and word-combinations that any theory of interpolation is impossibly harsh. 'Let us see what, on that hypothesis, the interpolator has done. He has produced a passage of thirty-seven words, in which there is not a construction, and only one word (*ἐπεί*) which is not well represented in the Lucan writings. He has used a word (*γινώσκω*) in a sense not elsewhere illustrated in these works, but a word which St. Luke would naturally employ in the connexion in which it occurs. He has employed words, phrases, and constructions for which St. Luke has a fondness, such as *καλέω, δύναμις Ὑψίστου, διὸ καί*, the article with the participle in place of a noun. He has used two verbs (*ἐπισκιάζω* and *ἐπέρχομαι*) which are rare in the New Testament, but which St. Luke uses more than once . . . and, above all, the markedly Lucan *εἶπεν δὲ . . . πρός*.'[1] It is quite impossible to believe in an ancient editor or redactor laboriously imitating an author in this subtle fashion for the sake of an interpolation of two verses.

Others have suggested that the words 'seeing I know not a man' (*ἐπεὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω*, the verb being used of sexual relations, as commonly in post-classical Greek) are interpolated, and that this insertion is enough to change the sense of the whole passage, so as to make a natural conception appear miraculous. But verse 35 by itself, naturally interpreted, implies a virgin birth: there is no textual authority for the hypothesis: and it is difficult to believe in an interpolator so ingenious and self-restrained as to be content with such a modest juggling with the text.

We may take it therefore that the text is sound, especially as the manuscript evidence is complete (with one minor variant in an Old Latin version) in favour of these verses.

### 2

The historical evidence for the virgin birth presents a much more difficult problem. S. Luke and the author of the first gospel unmistakably teach the virgin birth; but nowhere else in the

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[1] Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff.

New Testament is there any certain reference to the doctrine. Outside these two gospels there are a number of passages which *might* imply the virgin birth, but no one of them can be said to make that conclusion necessary. In S. Paul's epistles the relevant passages which have been thought to imply the virgin birth are Gal. $4^{4}$ (born of a woman), Rom. $1^{3}$ (born of the seed of David according to the flesh), and several other passages bearing on Christology, e.g. Rom. $5^{12-21}$, 1 Cor. $15^{44-49}$; but the interpretation in each case is at least doubtful. Nor does S. Paul make any reference to the virgin birth where he is most concerned to set forth the unique work and nature of Christ as, e.g., in Phil. $2^{5-11}$, 2 Cor. $8^{9}$, Rom. $8^{3}$. An examination of these passages seems to show that either S. Paul did not know of the virgin birth, or, at most, made the most distant allusions to it, even when he might have made powerful use of it in support of his teaching.

The same uncertainty appears when S. Mark's Gospel is examined. In Mk. $6^{3}$ ('Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?') nothing more need be implied than that S. Joseph was dead; and the natural interpretation of Mk. $3^{21,31-35}$ makes it difficult to suppose that S. Mark was aware of the virgin birth, though it certainly does not prove his ignorance of it, as some scholars have maintained; nor is it easy to understand why, if S. Mark knew of the virgin birth, he did not begin his Gospel with it. S. Mark belongs to the circle of S. Peter, and it appears, therefore, that S. Peter and his intimates, like S. Paul, either did not know, or were for some reason deliberately silent.

The other writers of the N.T., the authors of the fourth Gospel, Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse, nowhere directly mention the virgin birth, and again we have to say, either ignorance or deliberate silence.

Some scholars hold that there are several passages in the N.T. which show that the writer knew but rejected the doctrine of the virgin birth. Thus in John $1^{45}$, $6^{42}$ Jesus is referred to, in the first passage by Philip and in the second by 'the Jews', as 'the son of Joseph': this, when taken together with the fourth evangelist's Logos doctrine, is supposed to imply a tacit rejection of the virgin birth. But the argument is quite inconclusive, and it is equally unsatisfactory to press for a negative conclusion by such reasoning as it is to demand a positive conclusion on the basis of the passages in S. Paul referred to above. It is certain that the ordinary, everyday description of Jesus by His contemporaries would be 'Jesus

Barjoseph', from his putative father, whether He was virgin born in fact or not: and the Logos doctrine certainly is not incompatible with a virgin birth, and might if anything be said to be appropriate to it. Nothing can be proved from the silence of the fourth evangelist, as he omits many important parts of the synoptists' narrative, of which he must have been well aware, e.g. the baptism, temptation, transfiguration, Last Supper, the agony in the garden.

Rather more important are certain passages in S. Luke which are at first sight incompatible with his own account of the virgin birth.

(1) The Western Text (Codex Bezae) in $3^{22}$ reads, 'Thou art my Son: to-day have I begotten thee', and many scholars believe that this is the original text rather than that of R.V. If this reading be adopted, it presents a slight difficulty, coming as it does so soon after the account of the supernatural birth; but as the verse is a quotation (Ps. $2^{7}$) the second half cannot be pressed to the full, since the point of the quotation lies in the first half.

(2) $3^{23}$ sounds awkward. Why a genealogy through Joseph? There seems little point in tracing merely legal descent. Perhaps the genealogy was introduced for the sake mainly of the last verse, which S. Luke the Gentile might well value for himself and his Gentile readers as testifying to the Divine origin, not of the Jews only, but of mankind; perhaps, as Dr. Vincent Taylor has argued, S. Luke's first draft of his Gospel was written before he was acquainted with the virgin birth story, and the words 'as was supposed' were added when the new material came to hand.

(3) In a number of other passages language is used which is at least ambiguous. Thus in describing the purification ($2^{22-24}$) 'their' purification seems to refer to Joseph and Mary; four times in ch. 2 Joseph and Mary are mentioned together as 'his parents' ($2^{41}$ and $2^{43}$), 'his father and his mother' ($2^{33}$), 'thy father and I' ($2^{48}$). Here again these expressions are not necessarily incompatible with the virgin birth, since Joseph was for the purposes of every-day life *in loco parentis* to the child Jesus; but once more it is possible that they were first written at a time when S. Luke was as yet unaware that Joseph was not in the full sense the father of Jesus.

This short survey of the historical evidence would need further additions to make it complete, but it serves to show the inconclusive character of the N.T. evidence generally. It seems plain that, for whatever reason, the original apostolic preaching did not contain, though it nowhere rejects, the doctrine of Christ's birth of a virgin. Those who reject the virgin birth would say that, even if this does not of itself prove that the doctrine was part of a rapidly developing legend, such as inevitably gathers round a great name, yet in the light of other arguments such a conclusion must be regarded as highly probable. Thus they would add (*a*) that it is just the kind of invention which popular fancy would make; (*b*) that the story is made incredible by its wealth of legendary material, angelic appearances, and other marvels; (*c*) that the story is so imaginative in form that, even if there is a nucleus of historical fact, it is most unlikely that a miracle so tremendous as a virgin birth can be discerned as that nucleus rather than as part of the fanciful setting; (*d*) that stories of virgin births are common property of many religions and religious myths, and the real difficulty of the virgin birth of Christ is not that it is unique, but that it is *not* unique.

The weight of these arguments can be admitted, but it cannot be claimed that they are sufficient to establish a probability against the virgin birth. The silence of the earliest apostolic teaching, as Dr. Lowther Clarke has pointed out,[1] cannot be simply put down to ignorance. If we are to suppose that S. Peter, S. Paul, and S. Mark were ignorant of the virgin birth, how comes S. Luke first to discover it, without their Palestinian knowledge, and then to adopt it, knowing that e.g. S. Paul was ignorant of this secret tradition and that it might be associated with dangerous heathen myths, of which he must have been aware? There is nothing improbable in the supposition that the leaders of the primitive church knew of the virgin birth, presumably from S. Mary herself, but refrained from making it widely known, perhaps till the Virgin's death, from motives of delicacy. Nor would popular fancy among Jews create such a story, since national feeling exalted marriage and the bearing of children in wedlock. The strongly Palestinian atmosphere of the narrative forbids the view that the story is to be set down to Greek folklore. The poetical character of the story and the angelic appearances may be regarded as the natural art-forms of Jewish piety, objectifying an inner experience; but, as we have seen above, the reality of the divine message is not affected one way or the other by the literary form. Nor is it reasonable to assume the non-existence of 'angels', i.e. non-human spiritual beings, or to deny that on certain occasions they may appear in bodily form. Angelic appearances in the nature of things must be exceptional, and are bound to evade the precise requirements of scientific statistics. The argument that 'virgin birth' stories are common in many religions does not seem as relevant as is sometimes supposed. The N.T. story, as Dr. Lowther Clarke points out in the article quoted above, is 'something new, not only in its delicacy and reticence, but in its content'. The stories found among Greeks, Egyptians, and Semites of intercourse between gods or angels in human form and mortal women are not 'virgin birth' stories; and the widespread astrological fancy of a heavenly 'Virgo', with her diadem of twelve signs of the Zodiac, producing a divine child, is a vegetation myth, which has possibly influenced the writer of Rev. 12[1-6], but is wholly different from the Lucan narrative.

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[1] *Theology*, August 1926.

What has been said will show that agreement on the basis of the existing historical evidence alone will hardly be reached. Many will feel that without more historical evidence the virgin birth remains an unsolved critical problem. It is the presuppositions of the critic, theological and philosophical, which tilt the balance in favour of acceptance or rejection. Such a commentary as this is not the place to discuss all the questions which arise under these heads, but a brief note on the general question of miracle is desirable, especially in view of the prominence of miracle in the Gospels.

### 3

Objection to the virgin birth of Christ and to miracle in general is often made on philosophical as well as on historical grounds. It is urged that no such extraordinary departure from the normal course of nature can be accepted as credible; for since nature, wherever we know it, is found to be a uniform system of causes, miracles would need overwhelming evidence, tested by the most rigorous scientific scrutiny, before they could be accepted; and no miracle can be shown to have the support of such evidence.

It should be noted that this argument, though common, is unsatisfactory. The uniformity of nature is a scientific postulate, or working rule. It does not carry with it as a necessary corollary any doctrine of rigid mechanical causation. The assertion that miracle is incredible depends as a principle on the view that the world is a closed system of causes. This, however, is neither proved, nor indeed is it provable; while if we are right in believing in a God who transcends the world in which He is also immanent, it must, of course, be wholly untrue. Miracle, i.e. a change due to divine action in a given sequence of events, so that the normal course of human experience is modified, may happen if the normal course of human experience is intersected by a special or exceptional act of the Divine will. The natural 'law', i.e. observed sequence of events, will then be subsumed under a larger law; for miracle does not imply that God acts arbitrarily or without regard for order, but only that the orderly sequence of events in time, *as observed by us*, is not necessarily adequate to the scale of the Divine activity.

With an exceptional, supernatural act of such magnitude as the Incarnation of the Son of God, we may expect the larger law to manifest itself in such a fashion that the lower order is sometimes modified. It is on grounds of congruity that those who accept the virgin birth are predisposed to find the historical evidence for it sufficient, if not coercive; especially when they are also disposed to look for the providential guidance of God in the Christian beginnings, preserving the infant church from grave error. With S. Ambrose they would say, 'talis decet partus Deo'. The answer to the question why a virgin birth should be thought congruous depends in the last resort on one's view of the Incarnation. Granted an incarnation in some such sense as that set forth in Catholic theology, it would be far more marvellous and really *contra naturam* for the son of Joseph and Mary to be God incarnate than for Mary's son to have no human father.[1]

### $1^{5-25}$. *The Vision of Zacharias.*

$1^{5}$. *there was in the days of Herod* (ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρῴδου). One of the many 'Semitisms' which appear in this section, and give it its peculiar character.

*Herod.* This is the Herod who was afterwards called 'the Great'. He was an adventurer of Idumaean origin, though nominally a Jew by religion, and, like other petty princes who were shrewd enough to keep on good terms with the Romans, had maintained and extended his power by favour of Augustus. His kingdom included Samaria, Galilee, much of Peraea and Coele-Syria, as well as Judaea proper. He was a man of great force of character and political capacity, a lover of Hellenism but at the same time a stout and adroit defender of Jewish claims. The cruelty which is his best-known characteristic, and has made this unscrupulous tyrant the proverbial representative of Oriental despotism, is to some extent explained by the persistent intrigues against him. He died 4 B.C.

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[1] For a negative conclusion see Lobstein, *Virgin Birth of Christ*; and for further discussion see Orr, *Virgin Birth of Christ*; Box, *Virgin Birth of Jesus*; Swete, *Birth and Infancy of Jesus Christ*; Taylor, *Virgin Birth*; Lowther Clarke in *Theology*, August 1926.

*course of Abijah.* Priesthood was hereditary, and the priests were divided into twenty-four 'courses' or sections, each of which was on duty in the Temple twice a year. This arrangement was traditionally attributed to David, but is probably to be assigned to Nehemiah. Abijah was descended from Eleazar and gave his name to the eighth course (1 Chron. $24^{10}$, 2 Chron. $8^{14}$).

*of the daughters of Aaron*: i.e. Elisabeth was also of priestly descent. Prophet and priest meet in the forerunner, as in a deeper sense they meet in the Christ.

$1^6$. The two are devout Jews of the best Old Testament type of sanctity, faithful above all things to the Law, but clearly rising above external or formal obedience to a beautiful and spiritual religion marked by that loving intimacy with God which is found in many psalms.

$1^7$. Childlessness was regarded as a grave misfortune and a mark of God's displeasure (Lev. $20^{20-21}$, Jer. $22^{30}$).

$1^9$. A solemn function and a great honour. Lots were drawn for the privilege. Incense was offered in the inmost sanctuary morning and evening and the lots were drawn each time. The occasion was thus suitable for the mystical experience vouchsafed to the devout old priest. For visual and auditory experiences of this ecstatic type compare the stories of S. Francis, S. Gregory, S. Teresa, and others.

$1^{12}$. The central place of awe in man's experience of the supernatural has been observed everywhere, and is discussed by Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*: compare for the sense of unworthiness the vision in Isa. 6 init.

$1^{13}$. 'John' means 'Yahweh has been gracious'.

$1^{15}$. The promised son is to be dedicated to God for a special service. The asceticism of John is not merely a picturesque detail. The history of religion shows that some degree of asceticism and renunciation is normally found in those distinguished from their fellows for spiritual insight and leadership. It is probable, though not certain, that John the Baptist was a Nazirite. The word Nazirite appears in

O.T. in a general sense, meaning 'consecrated', 'separated', but it is generally used as a title belonging to a special class of persons dedicated to God by vow. The Nazirite was bound to abstain from wine, to leave his hair uncut, to avoid contact with dead bodies, to avoid unclean food (Numbers 6, Judges 13). The Nazirites of O.T. were zealous adherents of Yahweh in face of the Canaanite native cults: probably their abstinence from wine was a reaction against the immoral indulgences associated with the worship of the Baalim. The Nazirite vow was sometimes taken as a temporary obligation. According to a tradition recorded by Eusebius, the fourth-century Church historian, James 'the Lord's brother' was a Christian Nazirite.

*Holy Ghost.* The present activity of the Holy Spirit in the Church may be said to be the chief theme of S. Luke's 'volume two', the *Acts*: see Blunt's commentary in this series, pp. 143–146. In his Gospel, however, there is a marked contrast. (1) If we leave aside the nativity stories, only Jesus possesses the Spirit. For the followers of Jesus the Holy Spirit is a gift yet to come. (2) In the nativity stories the Holy Spirit comes to a distinct and exceptional group of persons only, those, namely, who are closely concerned with the birth or recognition of the Messiah. John the Baptist receives the Spirit as the forerunner, Mary as the Mother of Christ; Elisabeth, Zacharias, and Simeon are enlightened by special action of the Holy Spirit to recognize and bear witness to the Messiah's coming. In each case the gift is for a specific purpose. The relevant passages are $1^{15,35,41,67}$, $2^{25,26}$, $3^{16,22}$, $4^{1}$ (possibly in the Lord's Prayer $11^{2}$ where see note), $11^{13}$, $12^{10-12}$.

$1^{16-17}$. The special service is that of the prophet, who reappears in John the Baptist after a gap of many generations. He is to be like Elijah, a preacher of repentance. Rabbinic tradition said that Elijah was to come again as forerunner of the Messiah: see Malachi $4^{5}$.

*to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children.* A phrase of doubtful meaning. Perhaps it is best taken literally: the foundations of social life have been disturbed, even family ties are broken; the prophet of righteousness has to restore even the most natural and simple relationships. See Malachi $4^{6}$.

$1^{19}$. *Gabriel.* The word means 'man of God'. Two angels are referred to by name in the O.T. (Gabriel, Dan. $8^{16}$, $9^{21}$; Michael (= who is like God), Dan. $10^{13,21}$, $12^{1}$: cf. also Jude $^{9}$, Rev. $12^{7}$). Angels are mentioned in the earliest biblical document (J, one of the sources embedded in the Pentateuch), and belief in them doubtless goes back to the primitive animism of the early Semites. In the O.T. they are the messengers of God, with superhuman powers, sent by God to guide and protect men (Gen. 24[7], Exod. 23[20], 1 Kings 13[18], 19[5], &c.), sometimes to bring destruction (2 Sam. 24[16], 2 Kings 19[35], Job 33[22], &c.). They also form the 'host of heaven', whose chief duty in heaven is to praise God (Gen. 28[12], Ps. 103[20]). The belief was developed under Babylonian and Persian influences, and in the latest books of the O.T. canon, such as Zech. and Dan., and still more in the Apocrypha there is an elaborate system of angelology. The Gospel writers inherit these traditional beliefs, though apart from the Nativity and Resurrection narratives, where angels appear as messengers from God to men, the main emphasis is on their life and work in heaven, not on earth. For further details see Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible, s.v.*

Our Lord shared in this belief in the existence and activity of superhuman spiritual beings. Some would see here one of those human limitations of His knowledge which are involved in a true incarnation. But there is no *a priori* reason for thinking that men are the only created spiritual beings, and it is not in the least necessary to suppose that our Lord's belief was wrong.

1[20]. Psycho-physical effects of a vivid religious experience have often been noted: compare the stigmata of S. Francis. Temporary dumbness produced by a shock to the nervous system through some abnormal strain is well known to medical science. (See McDougall, *Outline of Abnormal Psychology*, for cases and discussion.) Here it is not unnaturally interpreted as a punishment for disbelief in the divine message.

1[21]. According to the Talmud the return of the priest from the sanctuary was awaited with anxiety, as it was feared that such close contact with God might produce death (Lev. 16[13]). The idea is widespread and is found frequently in the O.T., where death is regarded as the certain penalty for 'seeing God'.

1[22]. He could not utter the usual benediction (Num. 6[24-26]).

1[23]. Cf. verse 39: an unnamed town in the hills south of Jerusalem.

### 1[26-38]. *The Annunciation.*

The great literary beauty of this passage and its perfection of taste are particularly noteworthy.

1[26]. Precision of time and place shows the conscientious care of the writer: compare similar details at the beginning of ch. 2 and ch. 3.

Nazareth lies in a sheltered valley among the southern spurs of the

Lebanon. From the hill to the south is a magnificent view of places famous in O.T. story.

$1^{28}$. *highly favoured.* The sense of the Greek (κεχαριτωμένη) is more clearly brought out in the margin, 'endued with grace' (Vulg. *gratia plena*). Mary is the vessel of God's grace as mother of the Christ. Many manuscripts add here 'blessed art thou among women' (cf. v. 42), but the Revisers regarded it as an interpolation.

$1^{29}$. As before with Zacharias, consternation at an unusual (visionary) experience.

$1^{31}$. *Jesus.* The name (in different forms) was familiar. It means 'God our Saviour'.

$1^{32}$. *Son of the Most High.* 'Son of God' was a recognized Messianic title in the apocalyptic writers (e.g. Enoch, 4 Esdras). This Lucan variant is equivalent in meaning, and implies some very close, though as yet vaguely conceived, relation between Jesus and the Father. Jesus' own consciousness that He was the Son of God in a special sense is regarded by Burkitt as being the foundation of our Lord's Messianic consciousness and mission: see, *Christian Beginnings*, Lecture I.

$1^{32-33}$. *The Messianic Kingdom.* These verses contain what may be called the 'classic' form of the Jewish Messianic hope. A king of the house of David is to arise and restore the prosperity and dignity of the Jewish nation, and vindicate it against foreign aggressors: he is to be the instrument in the hands of God for the long-delayed fulfilment of the covenant promise to Israel, the chosen people. See Note C, below.

$1^{34}$. *know.* The word means 'have sexual relations with': Mary is surprised because she is not a married woman. She does not doubt the angel. The psychological skill of the narrative, as well as its delicacy and restraint, is well exemplified by this half-involuntary ejaculation of wonder.

$1^{37}$. *void of power.* Better 'shall be impossible' (ἀδυνατήσει).

### $1^{39-56}$. *Mary's Visit to Elisabeth.*

The reason for the visit is not given, but presumably we are to understand a supernatural impulse—the whole story being written from an ardently religious standpoint—as well as a natural desire for the companionship of her kinswoman, who is in like case with herself. S. Luke's sympathy with women has often been noticed. The exalted poetic feeling which pervades the whole of this part of the book rises now in intensity, and the narrative contains four songs, which are modelled on the old Hebrew verse forms and have been called the 'Messianic Psalms of the New Testament'. The first of these, the Song of Elisabeth, is not set out as verse in the R.V., but it displays the characteristic parallelism of Hebrew poetry. The other three (Magnificat, Benedictus, Nunc Dimittis) have been used liturgically as hymns from at least the sixth century.

$1^{41}$. Elisabeth is enlightened by supernatural inspiration. She utters her song 'Blessed art thou among women' in the rapture. As in the O.T. prophets the intensity of prophetic illumination finds expression in verse. The rhythmical pattern appears better in the Greek, but the English version shows it sufficiently when arranged in two four-line verses.

Blessed art thou among women,
And blessed the fruit of thy womb.
And whence is this to me
That the mother of my Lord should come to me?

For behold when the voice of thy salutation came into mine ears,
The babe leaped in my womb for joy.
And blessed is she that believed, for there shall be a fulfilment
Of the things which have been spoken to her from the Lord.

$1^{46-55}$. *The Magnificat.*

Mary's song (which, however, some of the Latin versions, as also Irenaeus, ascribe to Elisabeth) is full of O.T. reminiscences both in thought and idiom. These will be found set out in full in Plummer's *St. Luke* (I.C.C.), pp. 30–31. The Song of Hannah (1 Sam. $2^{1-10}$) is the model, but the ideas are derived from psalmists and prophets as well as from the historical books. It is needless to inquire how much is due to S. Luke and how much to S. Mary herself. It is morally certain that in such circumstances the well-known phrases of the sacred scriptures of her people would rise to the lips of the Blessed Virgin; but it is equally clear that in these idyllic chapters we are not in the region of verbatim reports. S. Luke, with complete literary propriety and psychological truth, allows himself some liberty in the imaginative reconstruction of his material. We must be content to take the finished product, and not call a fruitless and pedantic meddling 'critical analysis'.

This lovely song, with its dual note of royal dignity and mystical devotion, has four movements. (1) 46–48 Mary magnifies God for His goodness; (2) 49–50 which is a goodness not only to her but to all His people; (3) 51–53 and a vindication of His justice in succouring the oppressed against the oppressor; (4) 54–55 and His fulfilment of His promise. The note of dignity, of her own central part in this magnificent stroke of Divine power and her joy in it, is tempered and controlled by the mystical note, a vivid consciousness of the Divine movement in human things, delight in that movement, and utter surrender to it.

$1^{50}$. *them that fear him.* The usual O.T. description of piety is 'fearing God': cf. Ps. $103^{17}$. The antitheses which follow, proud and lowly, rich and poor, have the meaning they bear in the psalms, ungodly and godly.

### $1^{57-80}$. *The Birth, Circumcision, and Early Life of John.*

On the day of his son's circumcision, when the child received his name, Zacharias is released from his dumbness, and in a moment of inspiration utters a solemn prophecy, the Benedictus. The O.T. prophecies are the model here, and the language and thought are derived from the psalms and the prophets: see Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 39, for the parallels and references. The Benedictus mirrors the same kind of expectation as the Annunciation narrative and the Magnificat, but we hear more clearly the characteristic political note of the O.T. prophets, announcing the deliverance of Israel from its enemies in fulfilment of God's covenant promise. The political and the religious are combined in the manner of the great writing prophets: the deliverance from bondage is for the purpose of the holy service of God (vv. 74, 75). There is a break at verse 75, where the theme changes from the coming deliverance to the work of the herald. The last four verses have a peculiar dignity and beauty: the old priest, after solemnly declaring that his son is to be a prophet of the Most High, and the herald of the day of the Lord, returns in language of supreme beauty to the first theme, and announces the dawn of the Messianic age.

$1^{80}$. Solitude has played an important part in preparing great religious geniuses for their work in all ages: S. Benedict is an outstanding instance in the history of Christian Europe. S. John the Baptist, like Elijah and Amos, spends his life mainly away from towns, and the characteristic notes of the desert prophet, his austerity and uncompromising vigour of thought and language, appear in our records of John's teaching and life.

$2^{1-20}$. *The Birth of Christ.*

$2^{1-2}$. According to Matt. $2^1$ Jesus was born in the reign of Herod (cf. Lk. $1^5$), and S. Luke says that He was about thirty years old in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (Lk. $3^{23}$, $3^1$). Herod died four years before the beginning of our era, the beginning of which was inaccurately fixed by a Roman monk of the sixth century, Dionysius Exiguus. The year of the nativity cannot be fixed with absolute certainty, but Sir William Ramsay[1] has shown good reason for believing that it was 6 B.C. An inscription found at Tibur (near Rome) shows that Publius Sulpicius Quirinius governed in Syria twice. We know that he was governor of Syria A.D. 6–9, and held a census in Judaea, which, though it had then a Roman procurator of its own, was under the general supervision of the governor of Syria. Ramsay thinks that Quirinius held his first office as *legatus Augusti* in Syria in 6 B.C. It is true that we hear of another *legatus* as governor of Syria 8–6 B.C., Sentius Saturninus; but Quirinius seems to have held a special commission in command of troops against some Cilician mountaineers of the Taurus, the Homonadenses. The presence of two *legati* in one province at the same time is unusual, but other cases are known. The enrolment in Herod's kingdom, done on Jewish lines, not Roman, would be made by order of Augustus, and therefore the name of his *legatus*, Quirinius, might well be associated with it, especially as the same man held the second census in A.D. 6. Judaea in Herod's time was not a province, under direct control of the imperial government, but of course Herod was under Roman suzerainty, and the orders of Augustus would have to be carried out. Periodic enrolments are illustrated by papyri discovered in Egypt, where they took place every fourteen years. Ramsay argues with much probability that the fourteen-year cycle was used in Judaea and Syria, and that the first enrolment, for which Lk. is our only authority, began in 8 B.C., though Herod delayed it, by following the Jewish system of tribal enrolment, till 6 B.C. Tribal enrolment, though slow and cumbrous, would, it is thought, be used as less likely to offend Jewish susceptibilities.

Our manuscripts all give the name Quirinius (in its Greek form *Κυρήνιος*); but the Latin Father Tertullian, in one of his controversial books (*adv. Marc.* $4^{19}$), gives Sentius Saturninus as having held the census. Easton holds that Tertullian's evidence may be accepted on the ground that Tertullian could have found the name only in his copy of the Gospel, since it is out of the question that he should have made researches into the administrative history of Syria in order to check the name: nor would his views of biblical inspiration have allowed him to change the name. The name Quirinius, on this view, was introduced by an early copyist's error, which has infected all our existing manuscripts. If so, the error must have been made very early, since Justin Martyr (died 163) three times says that our Lord was born in the time of Quirinius.

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[1] See his book, *Was Christ Born in Bethlehem?*

For corroborative evidence of Roman interference in Judaea during the governorship of Saturninus see Josephus (*Antiq.* 17. 2. 4), who says that during this period the Jews were required to swear allegiance to Caesar and to Herod. This would show that the enrolment was made to ensure loyalty.

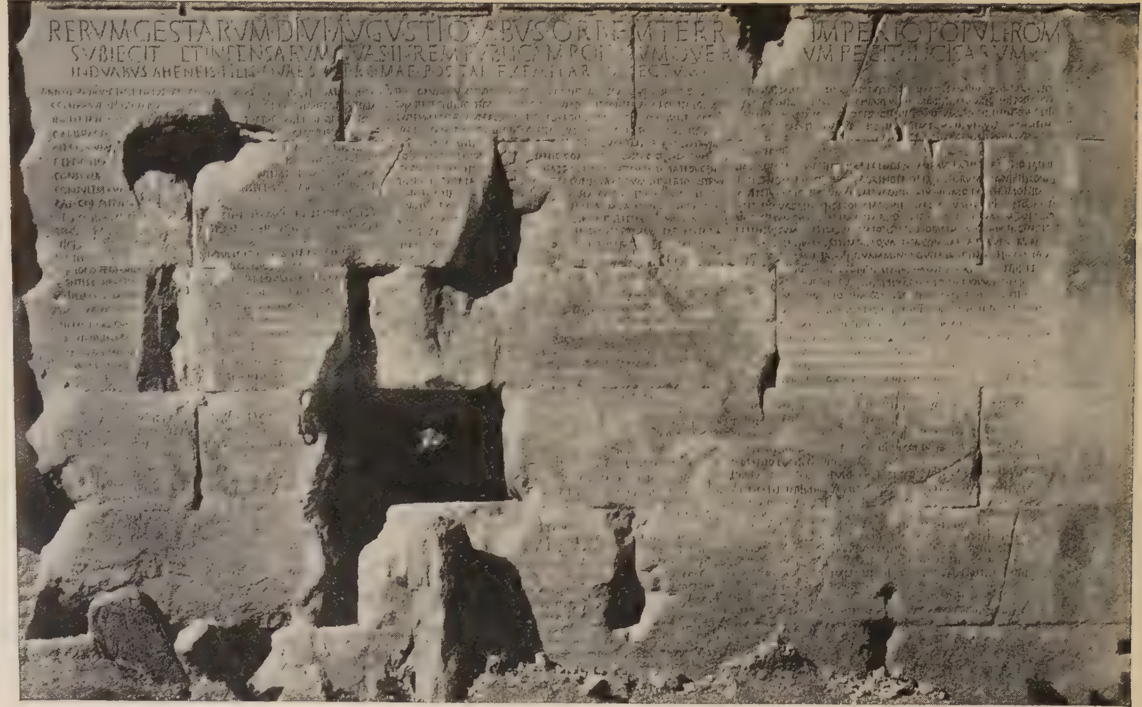
$2^1$. *all the world*, i. e. the Roman Empire. The administrative genius of Augustus gave ordered government for the first time to the Roman world. Statistical information was regularly obtained as part of the system of government, and provided material for the *breviarium totius imperii* (Tac. *Ann.* i. 11). The Monumentum Ancyranum, recounting the public services of Augustus, is our best example of the detailed records kept by the Imperial Government.

$2^4$. *Bethlehem*, six miles from Jerusalem, David's birthplace (1 Sam. $17^{12}$). A Roman census would not have required this journey to the place of the family's origin, but would have taken people in their own homes. Jewish patriotism, however, would be respected by Herod, despite the inconvenience and delay of the system. The enrolment of A. D. 6, when Quirinius held his second census, no doubt on Roman lines, as Judaea was then under direct Roman rule, produced serious disturbances: see Acts $5^{37}$.

$2^5$. *Mary, who was betrothed to him.* This is the reading of the great uncials, but the Syriac and Old Latin versions have 'Mary his wife': a number of Greek manuscripts, the Vulgate, and other versions have 'betrothed wife'. There is a tendency at the present time to give more weight to the Western readings, where Syriac and Latin versions agree, than the Revisers or Westcott and Hort would allow. See Streeter, *Four Gospels*, pp. 29 ff.

$2^7$. *inn.* The word in the Greek is *κατάλυμα*, which is rather 'lodging-place' than 'inn'.

$2^{8-20}$. *The Visit of the Shepherds.* In the first Gospel, which should be carefully compared with S. Luke on the nativity, the shepherds



THE MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM. A record 'rerum gestarum divi Augusti quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit' are not mentioned, but we get the visit of the Wise Men. The two stories of divinely guided visitors are full of marvels, and there may possibly be legendary accretions here. It should be noticed, however, that to reject this visit of the shepherds as unhistorical is to fall back on *a priori* assumptions about what is or is not credible, and that such assumptions are far from being self-evident, especially if the birth of Jesus Christ is indeed what the Christian centuries have believed it to be, the greatest of all supernatural events.

$2^{8}$. *abiding in the field*, an unfortunate translation, which does not at all give the impression of the wide mountain pastures of Judaea, where David fought the lion and the bear (1 Sam. $17^{34}$). Nothing can be inferred from this passage as to the time of year. Our Christmas Day appears first in the West during the fourth century.

$2^{9}$. *the glory of the Lord*, the Shechinah, or manifestation of God's presence, frequently mentioned in the Pentateuch.

$2^{11}$. *Christ the Lord*. A unique combination in the N.T. It appears in the Septuagint version of Lam. $4^{20}$, but there it is a mistranslation for 'the anointed of the Lord'. It also occurs in the Psalms of Solomon, perhaps echoing the passage in Lamentations.

$2^{14}$. *among men in whom he is well pleased* (ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας). A difficult phrase: and the text is uncertain. Probably it means 'men whom the Divine favour has blessed' (Plummer). With the other reading, given in the R.V. margin, there are three clauses, not two, the third being 'goodwill (i.e. God's grace) among men'. Three clauses (especially with the omission of the conjunction before the third) destroy the parallelism, 'glory to God, peace among men'. One Syriac version puts in the conjunction.

$2^{19}$. Unlike the shepherds Mary was not astonished, and unlike them she kept silence. There seems to be a clear hint here that Mary is, as we should naturally expect, the ultimate source of our information about the birth of Christ and what preceded it. She stored it all up in her mind, and after long silence divulged the truth. It is tempting to suppose that the secret was revealed after the Resurrection, when the infant Church, with the full knowledge that Jesus was Christ and Lord, vindicated by God, would be ready to receive the news of His supernatural birth.

### $2^{21-24}$. *The Circumcision and Presentation in the Temple.*

The usual ceremonies are performed, circumcision when the child is a week old, the twofold rite of purification and presentation when he is a month old (Lev. 12, Exod. 13). The sacrifice at the presentation was to redeem the child, since the first-born son belonged to God. The phrase 'their purification' in verse 22 is puzzling, and the manuscript evidence, though it is decisively in favour of 'their', is not unanimous. The Sinaitic Syriac MS. reads 'her': D (Codex Bezae) reads 'his'. 'Their' ought to refer to Joseph and Mary: but Joseph is not covered by the instructions of Lev. 12, which deal with the mother only. Perhaps we are to understand that contact with an 'unclean' person had made him also 'unclean'. The reading of D is very mysterious. The Sinaitic Syriac reading is attractive, and the variant 'their' may conceivably be due to a feeling that the Blessed Virgin needed no purification: but the manuscript authority is very strong for 'their', and if Jesus could 'fulfil all righteousness' there seems no reason for the hesitation about His mother.

$2^{25-38}$. Simeon and Anna present us with the same attractive picture of the best Jewish piety that we had before in the persons of Zacharias and Elisabeth. It is clear that Judaism was still capable of producing purity and holiness of life, despite the cramping regulations of the scribes and the bloody ceremonial of the Temple. Simeon has the two characteristic features of most devout Jews of the time—conscientious obedience to the Law and hope of the Messiah. The Messiah's coming will be a 'consolation' since it was commonly expected that a period of great tribulation would precede his appearance: see Lk. $21^{23}$ = Mk. $13^{17,19}$. Simeon's presence in the Temple when Jesus is brought there is represented as due to a prophetic impulse, and as with Elisabeth and Zacharias his moment of vision lifts his utterance to the level of poetry. The beauty of the Nunc Dimittis has made it perhaps the best loved of all the canticles. Plummer justly notes its 'suppressed rapture and vivid intensity'. It has been used since the fifth century either at vespers, as in the East and the post-Reformation Church of England, or at compline, as in the Roman breviary.

The aged prophetess, Anna, whose age is represented as something over a hundred, is described in remarkable detail, which presumably was in S. Luke's source, though its purpose is not clear. She too is led by prophetic inspiration to give thanks to God, and furthermore to spread the news among the pious circle in which she moved.

This part of the narrative, with its clear statement that Jesus was recognized as Messiah by devout people in Jerusalem as soon as He was born, has obvious difficulties in view of the impression we receive from the Gospels of how Jesus was regarded by the religious public generally. He appears to them as the Galilean prophet and wonder-worker, and Judas Iscariot is the only Judaean member of the Twelve. We hear no more of any body of people prepared to hail Him at once as the Christ as soon as He enters upon His public ministry. It must be remembered, however, that the Gospels do not give us more than a fraction of the life-history of Jesus: even so there are indications that He was known in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, as for instance to the man who lent the upper room for the Last Supper, and to Mary and Martha of Bethany: and the crowds which welcomed Him at His triumphal entry into Jerusalem may well have included others beside His northern followers. However this may be, Simeon and Anna are represented as both drawing near to the end of life; and their recognition of the child is expressly stated to be due to especial illumination by the Holy Spirit. There is nothing, therefore, in this part of the story which necessarily marks it as unhistorical, unless one starts with the assumption that such special illumination does not happen.

$2^{32}$. The inclusion of the Gentiles in the coming salvation is noteworthy; there is a return here to the universalism of the great prophet of the exile (Isa. $49^{6}$).

$2^{33}$. *his father and his mother.* See above, the essay on the virgin birth.

$2^{34-35}$. The prediction of sorrow for Mary may be an addition in the light of later events. It seems to be parenthetic to Simeon's forecast of the great changes and searchings of heart which the Messiah's coming would introduce.

$2^{37}$. *departed not from the temple.* She could hardly be resident in the Temple. No more is meant than that she spent the main part of her waking hours there.

$2^{40}$. This verse looks like the conclusion of a separate section, and probably was the end of S. Luke's authority for the birth-stories. In this case verses 41–52 (which end with a variation on verse 40) will be a separate anecdote, possibly from a different informant, though ultimately it may well go back to S. Mary. The apocryphal gospels have a number of legends about the childhood of Jesus, which are obviously later inventions, and contrast strongly and unfavourably with the silence of our canonical gospels.

$2^{41-52}$. With the final development of the Law, and the centralization of sacrificial worship at Jerusalem, it became a duty to go more or less often to the Temple. The Dispersion made it impossible for all male Jews to keep the rule laid down in Exod. $23^{14-17}$ and go up to the capital at the Passover, Pentecost, and Feast of Tabernacles: but most Palestinian Jews tried to go at least once a year. At twelve years of age Jesus became 'a son of the Law' and was thereafter bound by its rules. This was probably His first visit since His infancy. The journey to Jerusalem and back was made in a caravan ('the company' of verse 44) composed of relations, friends, and neighbours, perhaps drawn from more than one village. In such a large gathering a young boy might find plenty to absorb him which would take him from under his mother's eye, and it is not surprising that His absence was not at first noticed. The precocity of the child is not to be judged by northern standards. A thoughtful Jewish boy of His age, brought up in a devout household, would naturally linger amid the groups listening to members of the Sanhedrin expounding the Law on the Temple terrace: and Christ was more than a thoughtful Jewish boy.

$2^{49}$. *in my Father's house* (ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου). The familiar 'about my Father's business' of A.V. is a possible translation, but other examples of the same usage in biblical Greek make it more probable that 'in my Father's house' is right. The anecdote is doubtless recorded mainly for the sake of these words, which strike the key-note of Christ's nature and meaning for the world as the early Church had come to know them. He was the Son of God: where else should He be but in His Father's house? It is possible that 'my Father' (49) is to be taken as correcting 'thy father' (48).

$2^{50-51}$. Again we seem to get a hint that Mary herself was the original source of these stories. Even the repeated references to her wonder and lack of understanding (verses 33, 48, 50) really support this hypothesis. Psychologically it is quite likely that, looking back, she regarded herself as having indeed remembered, but as having failed to comprehend at the time, the amazing truth conveyed to her at the annunciation, and the implications of that truth. But the subject is a difficult one, particularly as our data are few and incidental: the synoptic tradition seems to point clearly to a definite misunderstanding: see Mk. $3^{31-35}$ = Matt. $12^{46-50}$ = Lk. $8^{19-21}$, and Mk. $3^{21}$, which is omitted by Matt. and Lk.

## $3^1$–$4^{13}$. THE MISSION OF JOHN THE BAPTIST. THE BAPTISM AND TEMPTATION OF JESUS

If this part of the narrative is read in a synopsis, it will be seen that while there are some close parallels between Lk. and Mk., not only in content but in phrasing, Lk. is much longer. Comparison with Matt. shows the presence of Q material, and there is also part which is found only in Lk. It has been generally supposed that S. Luke combined Mk., Q, and his special source: but Streeter (*Four Gospels*, pp. 205 ff.) has shown reason to suppose that here we have a case in which Mk. and Q overlap, and that Lk. here follows Q in preference to Mk. The elaborate dating of John's appearance marks a new departure in the story, and if the Nativity stories were introduced at a late stage in S. Luke's work on his Gospel, this may be the original opening of his first draft. The care about the time of John's preaching is intended to convey the impression that this was a critical moment in history, and is one of the small points which show the writer's sense of the historical dignity of his theme and of his own book. Mk. gives no date: Matt. has 'in those days'.

$3^{1-2}$. For all his particularity S. Luke leaves us in some chronological uncertainty. 'The fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar' is either A.D. 28–29, if we reckon from the death of Augustus, or A.D. 26–27, if we reckon from the time when Tiberius was taken by Augustus as 'collega imperii' (*filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis adsumitur, omnesque per exercitus ostentatur*, Tac. *Ann.* i. 3. 3).

Pontius Pilatus, an inefficient and cruel official in the imperial service, was appointed to the difficult post of procurator of Judaea in A.D. 25 or 26, perhaps by the influence of the all-powerful Seianus, and was recalled A.D. 36 or 37. On the death of Herod the Great (4 B.C.) the kingdom had been divided between three sons, Archelaus taking Judaea, Antipas Galilee and Peraea, Philip Ituraea and Trachonitis. Archelaus governed badly and was deposed by Augustus in A.D. 6, Judaea becoming an imperial province under a procurator of equestrian rank. Philip reigned from 4 B.C. to A.D. 34, and was accounted a mild and benevolent prince. Antipas had some of his father's qualities well marked—his unscrupulousness, craftiness, and luxury. He reigned till A.D. 39, when he was banished by Caligula, who gave his tetrarchy, together with that of Philip, to Herod Agrippa I. Abilene was the district round Abila, lying to the north-west of Damascus: we know of a tetrarch Lysanias at the beginning of Tiberius' reign from two inscriptions (Easton, *ad loc.*).

*in the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas* (ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα). Note the singular: the double high priest was due to Roman interference. Annas had been high priest from A.D. 7 to 14, when Pilate's predecessor deposed him: but the Jews, though they had to accept the fact, could not admit the government's right to intervene thus in their religious affairs. Caiaphas, Annas' son-in-law, was appointed in A.D. 18, and was officially high priest, but Annas had still great influence and all the prestige of the high-priestly office. The Roman government was compelled to keep a check on the high priest, as his office had political as well as religious significance.

$3^{3-18}$. The preaching of John the Baptist is a synthesis between the prophetic and the apocalyptic factors in Jewish religion: but the ethical prophet, the preacher of righteousness, is more prominent than the eschatologist in S. Luke's account of him. The Marcan agreements are three: (1) John baptized, (2) he preached 'the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins', (3) he predicted the coming of a Greater who should baptize with the Holy Spirit (Mk. $1^{4-8}$). Even here, though the background is obviously eschatological, the advent of the Messiah and the New Age, the stress is on the ethical preparation. Q adds something to both sides, in the denunciation of false security and moral complacency and in the warning of the 'wrath to come', the imminent judgement which will bring this age to its end (Matt. $3^{7-10}$ = Lk. $3^{7-9}$). S. Luke, by expanding the moral teaching ($3^{10-14}$) in particular applications, gives valuable information about the practical ethical content of John's message. Burkitt (*Christian Beginnings*, pp. 13–22) advances the opinion that 'the teaching of John was wholly ethical' as against Foakes-Jackson and Lake (*Beginnings*, i. 103), who maintain that it was 'fundamentally eschatological'; the reaction is salutary, but it seems to go too far.

$3^{3}$. *baptism of repentance* (βάπτισμα μετανοίας). The washing away of the past life (symbolized by the act of baptism) and the amendment of life in the future are *moral* requirements, which alone avail with God for the remission of sin; Abraham's children (verse 8) cannot claim any relaxation of moral demands in virtue of their privilege. This is the quintessence of the great writing prophets, who all denounce spurious substitutes for right living (cp. Isa. $1^{10-17}$, Jer. $7^{4-7}$, Amos $5^{21-24}$, Micah, $6^{6-8}$).

Baptism, as a rite of purification, seems to have been familiar at this time both for Jews who had suffered defilement and for proselytes from the Gentile world. It became important owing to the zeal for proselytizing, which was a mark of the Pharisaism of the time: cf. Matt. 23[15]. John's baptism was therefore no innovation; and the Christian sacrament is derived from existing custom. See for further information Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum N.T.*, vol. i on Matt. 3 init.; and cf. also Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, 1st series, pp. 37 ff.

$3^{4\text{-}6}$ = Isa. $40^{3\text{-}5}$. The unknown prophet who wrote this was referring to the return of the Jewish exiles from the Babylonian captivity. Naturally the early Church used it of the desert proclaimer of Christ's advent. It is characteristic of S. Luke's universalism that he carries on the quotation farther than Mk. and Matt. in order to include 'all flesh shall see the salvation of God'.

$3^{7}$. The baptism is nothing without the repentance. The multitude (Matt. characteristically has 'many of the Pharisees and Sadducees') are vigorously addressed in a desert metaphor, which hints at their true affiliation; they call themselves 'Abraham's sons', but they behave like children of the most detestable of creatures. The 'wrath to come' was referred by the Jews to the heathen: John in the true spirit of the prophets warns the Jews that the chosen people are not exempt from judgement, and this judgement (verse 9) is imminent. The eschatological note is clearly struck here, as again in verse 15.

$3^{10\text{-}15}$. Lk. only. The 'fruits worthy of repentance' are specified for different classes in homely, practicable advice. The well-off are to help those less fortunate than themselves; the tax-collectors are to be honest; soldiers are not to abuse their power, and must not rob the civil population. 'Publicans' (τελῶναι) are the collectors of taxes under Herod's government. The word 'publicanus' properly means 'tax-farmer', and belongs to the detestable system by which the Roman government under the Republic, and to some extent under the Empire, sold by auction in Rome the taxes of a province to a group of financiers for a lump sum, the taxes being then collected by the group's agents with whatever they could extort over and above what was due. The local agents, or collectors, were by common usage called 'publicani', as well as their employers, and this is the invariable meaning of τελῶναι in the New Testament. Herod had some powers of taxation left to him by the Romans, and the publicans here would be his officials. The oppression and fraud of the publicans made them everywhere feared and hated.

3[16-17]. The first of these two verses is in Mk. (Mk. 1[7-8] = Matt. 3[11] = Lk. 3[16]) the second comes from Q (= Matt. 3[12]). John repudiates the idea that he is himself the Messiah. His baptism is but preparatory to that outpouring of the Spirit which will be given in the New Age. The words 'and with fire' are not in Mk. Probably we are to understand the purifying power of the Spirit, which will burn up all that is evil.

3[18-20]. Sums up and explains the abrupt cessation of John's work. The prophet of righteousness paid the penalty for his outspokenness when he rebuked Herod Antipas for his evil life and especially for his incestuous marriage with the wife of his brother Philip (not the tetrarch, but another). Josephus (*Antiq.* 18. 5. 2) says that Antipas imprisoned John because of his great influence with the people, fearing a revolt: this may have been the official reason, for public consumption.

*preached the good tidings* (εὐηγγελίζετο). The good news is the news of God's coming manifestation of Himself and His Rule in the New Age. 'The Kingdom of God' does not appear in so many words in S. Luke's version of the Baptist's preaching, but it is clearly the theme of his 'good tidings'. Matt. 3[2] adds 'for the kingdom of heaven is at hand' to John's preaching of repentance. It is not unlikely that both in Matt. 3[2] and here in Lk. 3[18] there has been a tendency at work to assimilate the Baptist's teaching to our Lord's, making John already a preacher of the Christian gospel.

3[21-22]. This important section, describing in the briefest way how Jesus, at His baptism by John, received the Holy Spirit and heard a voice declaring Him to be the Christ and the Son of God, is unfortunately lacking in much that we should like to know, and has the further difficulty of a doubtful text. If S. Luke is here using Mk., it is with some considerable modifications. He omits the fact that Jesus 'came from Nazareth of Galilee', and by the parenthetic way in which he refers to the baptism, obscures what S. Mark seems to mean, namely that Jesus definitely joined the religious movement started by John, leaving His home to seek out the prophet. It is probable that S. Luke, like the first evangelist, felt a difficulty in the story of the sinless Christ undergoing John's baptism. Matt. 3[14-15] interpolates the well-known protest of John, and Jesus' reply that 'it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness'. S. Luke seems to want to guard his readers from misunderstanding by throwing the baptism into the background and placing all the emphasis on the Divine voice: he also distinguishes Jesus from the rest by adding 'when all the people were baptized'.

We are compelled to fall back on hypothesis in trying to grasp the significance of this solemn moment in the world's history. It may be that our Lord so far had been only vaguely conscious of His difference from other men and His unique relationship to the Father. The religious revival led by John was the opportunity, so it seems, for the smouldering fires to blaze up. He passes through what we should call a vivid religious experience, and comes to the knowledge of Himself and His mission. If this is what passed in Jesus' mind, then John has the high dignity not only of being the herald of Christ but also of being the instrument in God's hands whereby our Lord started on His redeeming work.[1]

The account of the moment of revelation is necessarily cast in symbolic form. The Holy Spirit descends 'as a dove' (Lk. is alone in adding 'in bodily form') and a voice is heard. S. Mark definitely restricts the vision to Jesus (Mk. 1[10]). S. Luke objectifies the vision, and adds that it came while He was praying. It should be carefully noted that 'beloved' in 'thou art my beloved son' does not bring out the meaning of the Greek word (ἀγαπητός) which is a Messianic title suggesting a unique relationship to God. See Armitage Robinson, *Ephesians*, pp. 229 ff.

The true reading in verse 22 is not certain. Codex Bezae (D) has 'Thou art my Son: I have begotten thee this day'; and many scholars believe this to be correct. It has been supposed by some, both in ancient and in modern times, that Jesus received His supernatural status and became the Messiah by adoption at His baptism: and this reading is supposed to indicate that this was the primitive belief about Him. Three questions then arise: (1) Does the reading of D imply this 'adoptionist' theory? (2) Is adoptionism the original belief of the Church? (3) Is adoptionism true?

(1) In answer to the first question it should be noted that the words are a quotation from Ps. 2[7], and that it is precarious to press the full meaning of the second clause for three reasons. (*a*) The main point is the assertion of the divine Sonship of Christ: that suggests the psalmist's words 'Thou art my son'; but the fact that the quotation is finished does not necessarily imply that S. Luke wishes to add that Jesus had so far been simply human

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[1] See the valuable essay on 'The Significance of our Lord's Baptism' in Rawlinson's Westminster Commentary on S. Mark, pp. 251 ff.

and now became something other than man. The begetting of a Son is not the conferring of a new status on an already existing person: yet if we are to press the second clause, this would have to be the meaning. (*b*) The parallelism of Hebrew verse very frequently gives us doublets in which the second half adds no new and different idea, but the first in another form. It is much more in keeping with this feature of style if we interpret the two halves of this verse as making *one* statement—that Jesus is the Son of God—than if we assume that the second half adds to this the further idea that His Sonship dates from the moment of speaking. (*c*) In Acts 13[33] the quotation is applied to the resurrection, and at no time was it ever supposed that Jesus became the Messiah after the resurrection.

(2) Adoptionism is not the original belief of the primitive Church any more than trinitarian orthodoxy, for the reason that the N.T. period gives us no systematic theory of Christ's metaphysical relationship to the Godhead. The preaching of Peter in the first half of Acts can be given an adoptionist interpretation: but the Pauline and Johannine teaching about the pre-existence of Christ will not admit of it. The subject is too large for further treatment here, but the reader will find a full discussion in Gore's *Belief in Christ*, chs. 2, 3, and 4.

(3) Adoptionism as a theological account of Christ's Nature and Person makes two assertions: (1) that Jesus was originally a purely human person, (2) that by union with the Divine Word He became both human and divine. This is roughly the doctrine known as Nestorianism, though it is doubtful whether Nestorius himself taught it: the question became acute when the term Theotokos ('bearer, or mother, of God') was applied to the Mother of Christ. Nestorius was condemned at the Council of Ephesus (431), and the title Theotokos was officially approved. It is hardly doubtful that the Church was right in rejecting Nestorianism. It destroys the religious value of Christ, and it makes him fundamentally unintelligible. Like the demigod of Arianism, the deified man of Nestorianism is neither truly human nor truly divine; he is neither an example for other men, nor yet God entering human life to redeem it. A purely humanitarian view, which makes Jesus a martyred prophet and no more, does justice neither to the New Testament evidence nor to the religious experience of Christendom; but it does present an intelligible figure. The Divine Lord of the Church's faith, 'very God' entering human

life as 'very man', is again intelligible and religiously satisfying, though admittedly there is mystery here. A supernatural being who is neither one nor the other is a figment of mythology, a mere puzzle, without meaning for human life and bringing no disclosure of the Godhead.

3[23]. *about thirty years of age.* Probably thirty-three, if He was born in 6 B.C. and John's preaching was in A.D. 27: see notes above.

*the son, as was supposed, of Joseph.* See the essay on the virgin birth.

3[23-38]. *The Genealogy*: cf. Matt. 1[1-16].

There are many differences between the Lucan and the Matthean genealogies, and a vast amount of discussion has arisen. The question is of little interest, as both genealogies are certainly artificial constructions, accurate no doubt in some parts, imaginary in others. The Jews were deeply interested in genealogies, and we are told that there was a Rabbinic saying, 'God lets His Shechinah dwell only in families that can prove their pedigrees'.[1] The points of chief importance are: (1) Lk. traces the genealogy back to Adam, with the significant addition, 'Adam, the son of God', Matt. back to Abraham, the father of the Jewish race; (2) from Abraham to David, both agree, from David to Joseph, they differ in all except two names, Zerubbabel and Shealtiel; the guess that this is to be explained on the supposition that while Matt. gives Joseph's pedigree, Lk. gives Mary's is most improbable, since it conflicts with the Jewish rule of tracing genealogies through the father, and with the plain statement of the text; (3) the purpose of giving the genealogy is to establish the Davidic descent of Jesus, and His kinship with the whole human race.

4[1-13]. *The Temptation.*

Lk. and Matt., following Q, have the full account of the threefold temptation: S. Mark summarizes in two verses (Mk. 1[12-13]) and says nothing of the nature of the temptations. Matt. puts the temptations in a different order. Everything points to our Lord Himself as the original source of the narrative. He alone knew what happened, and the vivid detail and memorable form of the story have the same ring as the parables, especially in their concrete 'picture-thinking' and the swift, clean vigour of their workmanship. He must have told the story to His apostles, perhaps in the later days of their companionship after S. Peter's confession near Caesarea Philippi.

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[1] Ragg, Westminster Commentary on S. Luke, p. 50.

The psychological fitness of the Temptations should be realized. Our Lord's experience at His baptism had brought Him the full certainty of His Sonship and the full endowment of authority and power. The impact of this tremendous knowledge would naturally produce an imperative need for retirement and consideration of His future. We can imagine the sort of questions which poured in upon His human consciousness. What did His Sonship mean? What was the work to which it committed Him? How was He to carry out that work, and what form was His mission to take? What was the true nature of that Reign of God which He was to introduce, and what was the true nature of His own Kingship? It was to face these problems that He was 'led' (Mk. says 'driven') by the spirit in the wilderness, where in solitude, with prayer and fasting, He worked out the solution, and fought His way through a tangle of plausible alternatives to a clear vision of the truth from which thereafter He never swerved.

The story presents this struggle to us in dramatic form. The Spirit of Evil assails the exhausted and lonely Christ, and seeks to undermine His conviction, or, failing that, to lead Him along false lines in the fulfilment of His mission. Three typical temptations are given:

(1) To turn stone into bread, as a test of His Sonship.

(2) To worship the Devil in return for immediate sovereignty over the world.

(3) To cast himself down from the pinnacle of the Temple, relying on miraculous aid.

The meaning of these temptations is defined by the answers given.

(1) To the first Jesus answers, 'Man shall not live by bread alone' (Deut. $8^3$: Matt. completes the quotation 'but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God'). The temptation is to doubt Himself and His Father, and to use His physical needs as an opportunity for testing the truth of His Sonship. To succumb to it would be to attempt to force the hand of God instead of trusting Him: but to trust God to the uttermost was the first essential of Sonship and of His work as Son.

(2) The second temptation was to catch at sovereignty by wrong means. The Christ is a King, and popular Messianism took this to mean a political ruler. Jesus had to ask Himself whether this conception was true to the Divine will. To aim at political power and make Himself a king like other earthly monarchs,

using the inevitable means of force and political chicanery, was a short cut to kingship; but Jesus rejects it as devil-worship. It meant a spurious success, to be won only at the expense of abandoning God's methods, and God's purpose, for the methods and ideals of the 'Prince of this world'. The Christ who was to be the revealer of God's love, and to win the allegiance of men by service and suffering, could not compromise His ideal. To do so would be to serve that Mammon whose service is incompatible with the service of God. Again, to trust in God meant to be loyal to the vision of God at whatever cost.

(3) The temptation which Lk. puts third, Matt. second, is the subtlest of the three. Jesus knows Himself to be the Christ, with supernatural power at His call. Would it not gratify His pride, and at the same time bring swift and sure success, if He did what the Rabbis said the Messiah would do when he came, swoop down from the pinnacle of the Temple, and overawe men into accepting Him by a display of miraculous power? To use His power for His own relief was a temptation He had already rejected: to use it for what might be plausibly regarded as the benefit of others was a new and more sinister allurement. Jesus rejects this too, as being once more a faithless forcing of God's hand and an illegitimate method. God's kingdom does not come by cowing men into submission; and to demand miracle simply to gratify one's own will, even when one's own will is supposed to coincide with God's, is not to trust Him but to challenge Him.

All the temptations are temptations to doubt God: the doubt may issue in attempts to test Him by demanding miraculous guarantees or in a compromise in method which implies a doubt in the Divine method. The result of the temptations is an unshaken loyalty, evinced by an absolute confidence in God as regards both His purpose—i. e. to bring in His kingdom through Jesus—and His method—i. e. to win men to Himself, not to cajole or force them by merely external means. The whole subsequent story of the Gospels witnesses to the completeness with which Jesus maintained this loyalty, though it led to His rejection and death.

$4^{1}$. *full of the Holy Spirit*, which at His baptism had given Him the fullness of authority and the impulse to begin His work.

*during forty days*: a conventional round number, as frequently in the O.T.

$4^{2}$. *did eat nothing*: Matt. 'fasted'.

$4^{5}$. A mental vision, which perhaps came before our Lord's mind as He stood on some high point in the Judean desert.

$4^{6}$. *for it hath been delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it.* It was a common belief that the world, and more particularly the heathen world, had fallen under the dominion of a personal spirit of evil, from whose power the Messiah was to rescue it. See Lk. $10^{18}$.

$4^{8}$. Deut. $6^{13}$.

$4^{9}$. *pinnacle of the temple*: in the Greek πτερύγιον (a wing), and therefore probably a buttress or other projection. It is only in imagination that our Lord is transported to the Temple: perhaps we may conjecture that the temptation came to Him as He stood on some precipitous height in the desert.

$4^{10-11}$. Ps. $91^{11-13}$.

$4^{12}$. Deut. $6^{16}$.

$4^{13}$. Lk. does not mention the ministry of angels here: cp. Mk. $1^{13}$, Matt. $4^{11}$.

*for a season.* Our Lord was not henceforth free from temptation, since He shared our humanity 'in all things save sin': see Lk. $22^{28}$.

## $4^{14}$–$9^{50}$. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY

This section of the book describes the work of Jesus and the Twelve in the towns and countryside of Galilee. It is a collection of teachings, miracles, and other incidents of mission work, leading up to the climax of S. Peter's confession of Jesus as 'the Christ of God', and the Transfiguration of our Lord. Mk. and the non-Marcan material (Q and L) alternate in large blocks thus (Mk. in *italics*): $4^{14-30}$; *$4^{31}$–$6^{19}$* (except $5^{1-11}$); $6^{20}$–$8^{3}$; *$8^{4}$–$9^{50}$*. The long section $6^{20}$–$8^{3}$ has been known as the 'lesser interpolation'; on the Proto-Luke hypothesis it is a portion of the primary source, and the Marcan passages are the interpolations.

There is one peculiar feature in S. Luke's use of Mk. here. After the story of the Feeding of the Five Thousand (Mk. $6^{30-44}$, Lk. $9^{10-17}$) a large section of Mk. (Mk. $6^{45}$–$8^{26}$) is entirely omitted by S. Luke, so that, among other things, the third Gospel does not contain the Walking on the Water, the very important passage on Defilement (Mk. $7^{1-23}$), or the story of the Syrophoenician woman. The omission may have been intentional: Sir John Hawkins (*Oxford Studies*, pp. 67 ff.) suggests possible motives, as for instance that the story of the Syrophoenician 'might be repellent rather than attractive to St. Luke's readers' who were Gentiles, and that the anti-Pharisaic discourse in Mk. $7^{1-23}$ is again, though for a different reason, unsuitable for Gentile readers, who were not closely concerned with Pharisaic legalism. Streeter (*Four Gospels*, pp. 176 ff.) puts forward the 'tentative suggestion' that S. Luke used a mutilated copy of Mk., in which the whole of this passage had been lost through a piece having been torn away from the papyrus roll; the argument for this attractive hypothesis should be consulted in Streeter's book, as it cannot be satisfactorily given in a brief summary.

$4^{14-44}$. *Jesus is rejected at Nazareth and transfers His base to Capernaum.*

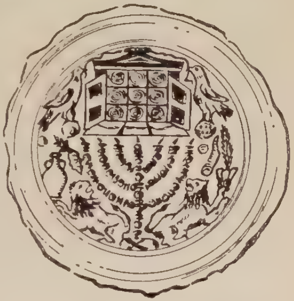
All the synoptic writers connect the beginning of the Galilean ministry with the Baptism and Temptation, and Mk. and Matt. make the Baptist's imprisonment the occasion of Jesus' public appearance. The fourth Gospel, on the other hand, gives an account of a ministry in Judaea which preceded the ministry in Galilee and was brought to an end by Pharisaic jealousy, owing to the fact that Jesus was making more disciples than John (John $4^{1-3}$). The thorny question of the historicity of the Johannine Gospel is not yet settled, and at present we have to be content with noting the difference. But it should be observed that there is no necessary incompatibility between the two accounts, and that a one-year ministry in Galilee and the north assumes a too rapid course of events, besides making it exceedingly difficult to understand the fierce enmity of the ecclesiastical authorities at Jerusalem, or the presence of friends and supporters of Jesus in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. Both the hostility and the friendship seem to demand that He was publicly known in Judaea.

S. Luke follows Q in preference to Mk, and puts the Rejection at Nazareth at the beginning of the ministry: S. Mark puts it much later (Mk. $6^{1-6}$). It is probable that S. Luke saw in the rejection of Jesus by His own townsmen a significant foreshadowing of the later rejection by the Jewish people, with its momentous consequences for the Gentiles, and therefore considered it appropriate to set the story right at the beginning of Jesus' public ministry. He may also have thought that some explanation was necessary of why Jesus worked from Capernaum instead of His home town of Nazareth.

$4^{15}$. *in their synagogues.* Galilee was a thickly populated region, and it is likely that there would be many synagogues. The remains of one have been discovered at Capernaum (Tell-Hum), possibly that built by the Roman centurion (Lk. 7[5]). After the captivity, when the sacrifices were strictly confined to the Temple at Jerusalem, some subsidiary religious centres for local worship and instruction in the Law were naturally called for. The synagogue was mainly a place of instruction, where, after prayer, the Law and the Prophets were read and expounded on the Sabbath; it also served as the school for the children. Our Lord would Himself have learnt to read in the Nazareth synagogue. See the interesting discussion in Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, 1st series, pp. 7 ff.

4[18-19]. Quoted with some differences from Isa. 61[1-2] (LXX).

4[20]. The attendant (*chazzan*) was the regular minister of the synagogue, who had charge of the ark containing the Scriptures. The synagogue was managed by a body of elders under the presidency of the 'ruler of the synagogue': the *chazzan* was a subordinate official, one of whose duties was that of schoolmaster. The elders could invite any one to read and expound. At Pisidian Antioch S. Paul, as a distinguished visitor, is invited to come up from the Sabbath-day congregation in the local synagogue and address the people (Acts 13[15]).



A glass plate bearing Jewish emblems, from the Catacombs at Rome. The shrine for the Scriptures—the scrolls of the Law—is shown open, with the ends of the scrolls exposed

4[22]. The good tidings of light and deliverance are welcome; but the speaker, claiming to be God's chosen servant, the anointed of the Lord, is met with incredulous astonishment. 'They cannot believe in the greatness or in the mission of One whom they have known in His boyhood, and whose family are the simple folk they know so well' (Rawlinson, *S. Mark*, Westminster Comm., p. 73).

4[23]. S. Luke's transference of the Rejection to the beginning of the ministry lands him in a difficulty: the mighty works done at Capernaum have not yet been mentioned. It is just possible, however, that we have here a reference to undisclosed information, summarily suggested in verses 14 and 15, and akin to that given in the early chapters of the fourth Gospel.

*parable*. The Greek is παραβολήν, which elsewhere means a 'parable', but here means 'proverb': A.V. is correct, and the Revisers fell into needless pedantry in changing it. The root idea of the word is 'comparison' and so it covers parable, allegory, and the figurative language of the proverb.

$4^{25-30}$. Only in Lk. As in the days of the prophets, so in the days of the Christ, Jews are rejected and Gentiles chosen. The references are 1 Kings $17^9$, 2 Kings 5. The reminder touches Jewish national pride at its most sensitive point (cp. S. Paul's experience in Jerusalem, Acts 13 and 22), so that they seek to murder Him. Our Lord's escape is described in words which imply that S. Luke regarded it as miraculous.

$4^{31}$. S. Luke now follows Mk. closely, but makes slight modifications and improvements in the language. Jesus leaves Nazareth for Capernaum (on the north-west shore of the Lake of Galilee) and the incidents which are next described, synagogue teaching, an exorcism, healing of the sick, the flocking of sick folk to be healed, the withdrawal into solitude for prayer, give a typical picture of our Lord's life during the Galilean ministry.

$4^{32}$. *with authority*. The astonishment is due to the marked difference between our Lord's teaching and that of the scribes (Lk. omits Mk.'s 'and not as the scribes' as irrelevant to his purpose in writing for non-Jews). The Rabbis for the most part (though Abrahams claims Hillel as an exception, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–16) expounded tradition, and buttressed everything with references to authorities on the Law: Jesus spoke with the authority of personal inspiration. The same quality of 'authority' is then illustrated by Christ's power over the demons, which produces an even greater astonishment.

$4^{33-36}$. *The exorcising of a devil*. The presence of the demoniac at the Sabbath service in the synagogue is surprising; but the man may have been normal between his attacks. The demon recognizes the Messiah, and blurts out the fact, for which he is instantly rebuked: the word translated 'hold thy peace' means literally 'be muzzled', and is used in Hellenistic Greek for restraining a man by supernatural power from doing harm.

## NOTE B. DEMONIAC POSSESSION

When S. Paul (Eph. $6^{12}$) says that 'we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world', he was expressing the universal belief of his age and a belief which is living and vigorous in many parts of the world to-day. It was supposed that there existed a host of invisible malignant beings who could control or possess human beings. To the early Christian their activity took many forms: they were the gods of heathen idolatry, the source of the moral evils of pagan civilization, and the enemies of Christ and His Church. One of the great triumphs of Christ was His victory over them; the believer could always be confident that the power of Christ was greater than the power of the demons, and confidence in the face of supernatural evil has been in all ages a gift conferred by Christianity. Everywhere the demons were regarded as the cause of many forms of disease, particularly those in which the sufferer lost control of himself and seemed to be under the control of an invading power; delirium, mental derangement of all kinds, the more obviously distressing diseases of the nervous system, such as epilepsy, even deaf-mutism, were attributed to demoniac possession, as is apparent from the New Testament evidence. The Gospels are full of instances of demoniac possession, which they treat as nothing extraordinary or rare: and the power of Christ over the demons is to the writers of the Gospels valuable and impressive evidence of His Messianic authority. S. Luke, the physician, takes demoniac possession as a matter of course when he meets it in his authorities: he no more questions it than he questions the fact of disease.

With the belief in demons goes the practice of exorcism. This is true of all ages. It was, and is, believed that the demons could be expelled by the use of the proper means by the proper person. For the ordinary exorcist in ancient times the knowledge of the demon's name and the use of a formula or 'word of power' were important. The phenomena of suggestion make it very probable that exorcism has often been used with success, quite apart from the truth or falsity of the assumptions on which it is based. Many sufferers from delusions are extremely suggestible: mild hypnosis increases their suggestibility. When there is belief in demons and consequently in demoniac possession; when both exorcist and patient fully believe both in the fact of possession and in the power of the exorcist; and when, as must often happen, the exorcist wittingly or unwittingly exerts a hypnotic influence on the patient; then the use of a solemn rite, especially when the whole process is based on the profound truth that the Divine Spirit can and does conquer evil of all kinds, may well be effective in curing the malady. The early Church used exorcism frequently, and there was a special order of exorcists. Our Lord's power as an exorcist is represented in the Gospels as being an inherent power, belonging to Him as Christ and Son of God; in the case of the Gadarene demoniac He is said to have demanded the demon's name, but we have no other instance in which He did so, and there it may be only for the purpose of bringing the man to himself.

The modern civilized world is disinclined to believe that there is anything but delusion in these beliefs. Apart from those whom we dismiss as 'savages', few have any living belief that human life is demon-haunted. Theosophy and occultism are systems in which the belief in non-human spiritual agencies is prominent, but they are mainly composed of extravagant speculations, which most people find wholly unattractive. Christians inherit from their tradition a belief in the existence of demons, but it is largely inoperative, and frequently rejected. Medical science interprets the phenomena formerly attributed to demoniac possession in purely physical or psycho-physical terms, either as due to organic lesion or functional disturbance of the brain, or as caused by mental obsessions, unconscious conflicts, disassociation of personality (as in the famous case of Sally Beauchamp, investigated by Dr. Morton Prince), and the like. Yet there are several considerations which should make us hesitate to reject altogether the idea that non-human spirits exist and that in certain circumstances they may enter into human affairs. (1) On a theistic, or indeed any spiritual view of the universe, it is unlikely that man is the only spiritual product of the cosmic process. (2) The experience of educated European missionaries in heathen countries to-day leads them again and again to go back to the belief in possession as the only hypothesis that will fit certain facts in the life of their heathen neighbours. (3) The lack of evidence of demoniac possession in Christian countries may be explained by their acceptance of the Christian faith and the operation of the Spirit: the triumph of Christ over the demons, of which the early Christians were so convinced, would produce just that result. (4) The mysterious hinterland behind the surface consciousness of everyday life is hardly known at all. We cannot rule out beforehand the possibility of spiritual intelligences being able to affect it by entry from without. On the whole, we can say that more evidence is desirable, and that the verdict at present should be 'not proven'.

It appears from the Gospels that our Lord shared the belief in the existence and activity of the demons and that He exorcised them. If the demons were there, and Christ expelled them, there is nothing further to be said. But if we are not convinced of the reality of such beings, the question arises, what bearing has the presence of this belief in His mind on the doctrine of the Incarnation? It ought not to be difficult to see that there is no incompatibility. Belief in the existence of demons was part of the ordinary mental furniture of the pre-scientific age in which our Lord was born. Complete enlightenment on scientific questions, such as the causes of disease and their relation (still largely unexplored) to the spiritual forces at work among men, would have been possible only by taking our Lord out of His historical setting and making Him an unnatural prodigy. On such questions He appropriately employed the ideas inculcated by His environment and education. This is as necessary to a true Incarnation as His birth of a woman, His helpless infancy, His liability to fatigue, disappointment, hunger, and bodily death. None of these things are appropriate to a mere apotheosis: but none of them conflict with His moral perfection or His spiritual dignity as the living Sacrament of ultimate spiritual Reality.

$4^{38-39}$. Simon is introduced thus abruptly into the narrative, because earlier in S. Mark's narrative the call of Simon and Andrew to accompany Jesus had been described in a passage which S. Luke does not use till later (Lk. $5^{10}$, Mk. $1^{16-20}$).

$4^{39}$. If we compare this cure with that of the man with the unclean spirit and then with the cures referred to in verses 40 and 41, we find some points of difference. The first cure is by exorcism, i. e. a definite command to the demon to depart. In the second, it is not clear whether exorcism is used or not: the verb 'rebuked' implies the presence of a malignant living agent, but that which is rebuked and which leaves the patient is not the agent that causes the disease but the disease itself. This ambiguity is removed in the group of cases treated 'when the sun was setting'; some are cases of demoniac possession, and the cure is by expulsion of the demon; but these are distinguished from other cures, wrought by the laying-on of hands, where no actual possession by demons is either stated or implied. S. Luke seems to distinguish between demoniac possession and disease: in $6^{17-18}$ those who come 'to be healed of their diseases' are apart from those 'that were troubled with unclean spirits', and in $9^1$ the Twelve receive power 'over all devils and to cure diseases'. Yet it is not easy to see on what principle the division is made: and the ambiguous language in the case of Simon's wife's mother is perhaps due to the fact that S. Luke had no clearly defined theory. The method of cure employed by our Lord is not dictated by any classified scheme of diseases. There are four cases of exorcism in Lk., the man with the 'unclean devil' ($4^{33}$), the Gerasene maniac ($8^{27-36}$), the epileptic boy ($9^{37-42}$), and the deaf-mute ($11^{14}$: the description is odd, since both the demon and the sufferer are said to be dumb). Yet the woman with the 'spirit of infirmity' 'whom Satan hath bound' ($13^{11-16}$) is not exorcised, but healed by laying-on of hands: other cripples, the paralysed man ($5^{18-25}$), the man with the withered hand ($6^{6-10}$), are healed by a word, without any exorcism or any reference to possession. Similarly, though deaf-mutism is attributed to a 'devil', there is no mention of a devil in the case of the blind man ($18^{35-43}$) who is cured by a word. Most of the cures recorded by S. Luke are wrought by word or touch or word and touch combined: and sometimes the cures are done without conscious exercise of power by our Lord (cf. $6^{19}$, $8^{43-48}$). Yet it is very improbable that leprosy, paralysis, dropsy, and blindness were not attributed to the work of demons, if deaf-mutism was.

The facts seem to suggest that while all disease was regarded as caused by the powers of evil, only those forms of disease which produce, or appear to produce, insanity were dealt with by exorcism. Epilepsy, delusional mania, the delirium of high fever, the meaningless noises made by a deaf-mute and his inability to understand what is said, would thus be met by exorcism; the ambiguous language in the case of Simon's wife's mother would then have to be put down simply to a loose use of words. Other sick or infirm people whose wits were not affected would not be treated by exorcism, though 'Satan had bound' them, perhaps on the ground that, though under the power of the demons, they were not actually possessed by them.

Our Lord's healing miracles present fewer obstacles to modern preconceptions than they used to do, as mental and spiritual methods of dealing with certain kinds of illness have met with much success in recent years, and the 'modern mind' finds it comparatively easy to believe that a person of such transcendent spiritual and moral force as Jesus could exercise healing powers. Yet it should be noticed that His cures go far beyond the successful treatment of functional disorders of the nervous system, the field in which modern psychotherapy has been used.

4[41]. Again, the demons blurt out that Jesus is the Christ, and again they are silenced. Premature declarations to a miscellaneous and unprepared crowd might produce serious difficulties. Popular Messianism would want to make Jesus a political king, and patriotic emotionalism of this kind would be fatal to the profoundly spiritual movement which was just beginning.

4[42]. Mk. 1[35-39] says that Jesus went out to pray. S. Luke omits this, apparently because of the interpretation which he puts on Mk.'s 'to this end came I forth' which need mean no more than 'that is why I left the city': Lk. refers it to Christ's mission generally. Apparently our Lord left Capernaum purposing to preach in other towns, and prepared Himself by prayer. The narrative implies that the departure was abrupt, which may have been due to the growing embarrassment caused by the crowds, whose main interest was in His wonderful works. To Jesus Himself these were secondary to His message. For our Lord's custom of retiring into solitude for prayer cf. Lk. 5[16], 6[12].

4[44]. Some of the best manuscripts read 'Judaea' instead of 'Galilee'. The original reading was probably 'Judaea', the change being made on account of the supposed inaccuracy. 'Judaea' is simply 'the country of the Jews' and is quite accurate enough for Gentile readers.

## NOTE C. THE KINGDOM OF GOD

The teaching of our Lord has been referred to in general terms already, but verse 43 contains the first specific reference to the subject of His teaching, 'the good tidings of the Kingdom of God'. The Kingdom is so central in the synoptic account that some understanding of its meaning and implications is necessary for the proper comprehension of the rest of the Gospel story. An immense literature has grown up round this subject, and here we can do no more than sketch some of its more important aspects.

The idea of the Kingdom of God is deeply rooted in the foundations of Israel's religion. The fundamental conviction of the Hebrew people was that God was in a special sense *their* God, that He had chosen them as His people. Under the guidance of the prophets they had gradually come to understand that their God Yahweh, originally one tribal god among others, was the God of the whole world. From the beginning, they believed, they had been an elect people, privileged to know the one true God: and in the highest development of Jewish religion, as set forth in Deutero-Isaiah, this privilege is seen to carry with it a missionary obligation towards the whole world (Isaiah $49^6$). This especially close relationship to God was to be embodied in their national life. Whereas other peoples lived under human rule, Israel was theocratic, God Himself being their King. Hence we find repeatedly in the O.T. either a dislike and suspicion of human kingship, as obscuring the Divine, or alternatively a conception of the king as being the vicegerent of God. But this Rule or Kingdom of God was not fully realized, and was often actively defied by the sins of the chosen people. The prophets continually lament and denounce the backsliding of their countrymen, their failure to live up to the demands of God; and in consequence they warn the nation that they have forfeited the blessings of that Divine rule which they have flouted. Hence in the prophets the Rule of God is generally a great blessing in the future rather than a possession in the present. There will come a time when the miseries of the chosen people will be removed and God will fulfil His purpose. He will not utterly reject His people, though when 'the day of the Lord' comes, it will come with the fires of judgement, which only a faithful remnant will survive. But this purified Israel will receive the covenanted blessing; God will bring in His promised Kingdom, and all sin and suffering will be banished. Either God Himself or the Messiah, whom He will send, will reign over a glorified and victorious people. The idea of the Messiah, the Anointed Vicegerent of God, arose from dreams of a restoration of the golden age of King David, the anointed of the Lord, the man after God's own heart. A king like David would be the earthly representative of the Divine King, and, like David, would overthrow the enemies of Israel and reign gloriously and justly, as the vicar of God, over God's people.

Such, in very brief outline, is the prevailing conception of the Kingdom of God and the Messiah in the O.T. But in later prophecies within the O.T., and more fully in the uncanonical 'apocalypses', another conception appears, due to the wider horizons which had opened to Jewish minds. They saw themselves a pawn in the game played by huge empires: they were more oppressed by the sense of their own insignificance, and by the almost complete impossibility of any Jewish triumph over the

Gentiles. They saw, too, that as generation succeeded generation great numbers of godly Jews died unrewarded: these too must have a share in the Kingdom when it came, as well as the living. Consequently we get the characteristic features of the apocalyptic literature: (1) the 'day of the Lord' is to come with a universal cataclysm in which heaven and earth will pass away, and God will create a new heaven and earth; (2) where a Messiah is mentioned (as in Dan. $7^{13,14}$ or in the Similitudes of Enoch) he is far more than a king of David's line; he is a mysterious supernatural being, vaguely conceived, more than human; (3) the faithful dead will arise to share in the blessings of the New Age.

We are not to suppose that, when our Lord was born, or indeed at any time during the period in which the hope of the Kingdom dominated the Jewish mind, there was any systematic arrangement of the ideas we have briefly summarized. They were held loosely and in many different forms: for instance, there are many different conceptions of the Messiah, and in some forms of apocalyptism he does not appear at all. Nor is it to be supposed that all the imagery was taken in a literal sense.

It is into this world of ideas that our Lord comes. The narrative of the Temptations clearly shows that He worked out in the desert His own relation towards them. To sweep them aside, and invent a wholly new set of ideas wherewith to express Himself and His message, was obviously impossible. However fantastic and unworthy they might be in their form, there were vital truths in these ideas; and if He was to be understood at all, He must build on what had already got a lodgement in the minds of His hearers. Once purged of their unworthy elements and reconstructed in the light of His own unerring intuitions, they gave Him what He wanted. We can see from the Gospels, fragmentary as they are, the main outline of those great truths which had been dimly foreshadowed before and were now to receive their true expression.

(1) Our Lord accepts and proclaims the Rule of God. In the Lord's Prayer we are reminded that God's Kingdom exists in Heaven, and bidden to pray that this complete sovereignty of God may extend from the eternal and invisible sphere of God's unchanging life to the temporal world of men. That is man's 'salvation', his perfect wholeness and soundness of life, that he should be incorporated in the eternal order.

(2) He Himself taught, and S. Luke throughout assumes, that

this supernatural order has already begun with the coming of the Christ. The reign of evil has been ended by one stronger than the forces of evil (Lk. $11^{14-23}$): the enemy of man has fallen (Lk. $10^{18}$). The 'little flock' of His followers is assured of the Kingdom which it is their Father's good pleasure to give them (Lk. $12^{32}$, $17^{21}$, $22^{28-29}$): they are the salt of the earth and the leaven of the lump, who purify the world and spread the supernatural Kingdom, though our Lord himself in His earthly life is sent only to the lost sheep of Israel.

(3) Though all this is represented as an act of God, not as the work of men, yet those who seek to enter into the Kingdom of God cannot do it easily. Strenuous moral co-operation with God's will is demanded. The Kingdom is like a pearl of great price for which we must be ready to give all. Our Lord's moral teaching puts the demands very high. Men must strive after the perfection of God Himself, and their righteousness must exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees. The Sermon on the Mount is the standard of the new supernatural order.

(4) As the idea of the Kingdom is thus transformed and spiritualized, so the idea of the Christ receives even more striking modification. Neither the Davidic King nor the mysterious Personage of the apocalyptists is adequate, though Jesus is in a very real sense King and the supernatural Son of man (Lk. $17^{22-25}$, $23^{3}$). The great addition to the Christ-idea is that of the humiliation and suffering of the Christ, culminating in the Cross. As the kingship of God is that of a loving Father, not a remote despot, so the royal and supernatural dignity of Christ is spiritual, the meek lowliness of the servant which is the true greatness (Lk. $22^{24-27}$). He has to suffer many things and be rejected (Lk. $9^{22}$); 'I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished' (Lk. $12^{50}$). His disciples, too, must share His humiliation, taking up the cross and enduring the hostility of the world.

(5) The kingdom which thus begins in the small group of unknown men and women, and the Christ who suffers, both look forward to a future event which turns apparent failure into triumph. Christ will rise again the third day and be glorified. His Church will share that glory and the Kingdom will reach its full consummation when Christ returns. The time of that return is unknown even to Christ Himself; but the Gospel must first be preached to all nations (Mk. $13^{27,32}$, Matt. $24^{14}$).

These are some of the main points in this great subject. Further details will be commented on later: see also Gore, *Belief in Christ*, ch. 5; Goudge, *What is the Gospel?* Rawlinson, *Gospel according to St. Mark* (Westminster Commentaries), pp. 177–182; Hoskyns in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, pp. 171–178; Streeter in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, Appendix, and *Foundations* (*The Historic Christ*); Charles, *Between the Old and New Testaments*; apocalyptic texts in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*.

$5^1$–$6^{19}$. There follows a series of scenes, very loosely connected, and mostly introduced by the formula 'it came to pass'. Time and place are both vague. The arrangement seems to follow a symmetrical pattern—call of Peter, two healings, call of Levi, two Sabbath-day episodes, appointment of the Twelve.

$5^{1-11}$. *The Call of Peter, James, and John.* S. Luke follows a different tradition from that given in Mk. $1^{16-20}$. The story of the 'miraculous draught of fishes', which S. Luke combines with the account of the disciples' call, is peculiar to him, though there is a similar story in John $21^{1-14}$ connected with a post-Resurrection appearance. The draught of fishes is clearly intended to be miraculous, but it is not clear whether Jesus is supposed to have directed the movements of the shoal or simply to have known its movements beforehand. Dense shoals of fish are found in the lake, and like shoals elsewhere they move swiftly and turn up unexpectedly. In any case the sudden impulsive self-abasement of Simon Peter is caused by his recognition of the supernatural in Jesus.

It is noticeable that, like lesser movements that have affected the world's history, the Christian movement begins with a group round a leader: compare in religious history S. Benedict, S. Francis of Assisi, George Fox, John Wesley. Our Lord consecrates what seems to be the characteristically human method of advance: He gathers about Him a group, and so forms the nucleus of the Messianic community. But there seems to be a secondary group at the back of the writer's mind as he tells this story, and possibly some puzzling features of the passage may be explainable by this double reference. Why did S. Luke, who has been following S. Mark's account and returns to it after this episode, desert the simple narrative given by S. Mark here and prefer the tradition which sets the disciples' call in the framework of this miracle? Why is Peter made so prominent, James and John being passed by with a single mention, and Andrew being altogether omitted?

It is possible that S. Luke is glancing at contemporary affairs in the Church as he writes. If so, S. Peter, the leader of the apostolic band, is made the centre of this story because he was the centre of the infant Church; and the miraculous draught of fishes has its *prima facie* meaning, but also a further symbolic meaning: the fisherman is to put out into the deep waters of the Gentile world and there win a rich harvest of souls.

$5^{12-16}$. *A leper healed* (Mk. $1^{40-45}$). The word 'leprosy' in the Bible covers a number of skin diseases as well as leprosy proper. Jesus heals the sufferer, but bids him fulfil the requirements of the Law, i. e. get a certificate from a priest that the disease is cured, receive ceremonial purification, and offer the appointed sacrifices (Lev. 14). S. Luke interprets S. Mark's account as a straightforward narrative of miraculous healing; but modern commentators have found great difficulties in the Marcan narrative, where the readings are not certain. See Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–22, 256.

The simplest explanation of our Lord's injunction of secrecy is the best; He did not want a reputation as a wonder-worker to impede His main work of teaching. Healings were incidental and subsidiary. Moreover, being understood as evidences of His Messiahship, they might lead to a popular movement of the wrong kind.

$5^{17-26}$. *A paralytic healed* (Mk. $2^{1-12}$). A new point arises in connexion with this picturesque story of a healing: our Lord claims to exercise the divine prerogative of forgiving sins as 'Son of man'. Moreover, the miracle of healing is done as a proof to the onlookers that Jesus is the Son of man and as such has this divine power. Both these features of the narrative present difficulties.

## NOTE D. THE SON OF MAN: THE MESSIANIC SECRET

(1) According to S. Luke's arrangement of his material (though not according to S. Mark's) our Lord had already in Nazareth claimed openly to be the Anointed of the Lord, commissioned to proclaim good tidings (Lk. $4^{16-21}$). His authoritative teaching and His mighty works both imply His Messianic dignity: but did He Himself in these two cases assert it openly to unfavourable audiences? If so, why did He command the demons to be silent, and charge even Peter and His disciples to be silent (Lk. $9^{18-21}$)? The difficulty does not lie in the assertion of forgiveness: that is

one of the blessings of the Kingdom, and goes with the bodily works of mercy. It lies in the apparent conflict between the open avowal by Christ Himself and the command that others should be silent. The Nazareth claim is probably no more than that He was the herald of the Kingdom, and therefore may be taken as stopping short of a public claim to be Messiah. But certainly in the passage before us He lays claim (and gives proof of His claim) to what most probably is a Messianic title.[1] Some scholars, it is true, propose to take 'Son of man' as simply the equivalent of 'a man', pointing to the use of the phrase in Ezekiel, where it is the form of address to the prophet, and to the fact that the Aramaic idiom 'son of man' (bar-nasha) means no more than 'man'. They would have us suppose that our Lord is here claiming that forgiveness is a *human* prerogative, which He exercises as a man. But this does not seem to be a satisfactory solution. No doubt there is a sense in which man can forgive sins: but this is beside the point here. Our Lord is not contradicting the doctrine that forgiveness belongs to God: He is claiming this admittedly divine prerogative for Himself. There is no suggestion that this is a theological difference about the nature of forgiveness. Nor again can we entirely strip off the supernatural associations of the phrase, derived from Dan. 7 and Enoch 46. In Enoch 'Son of man' had become definitely supernatural, indicating the Representative of God, God's Elect and Anointed. It is perfectly true that our Lord's position as the Son of man is far different from that of the mysterious personage in Enoch who has no human life and no redemptive suffering, and He probably never thought of Himself as literally and exactly the Enochian Son of man. Yet it would be a very precarious assumption to say that there were no supernatural, superhuman associations in a phrase which had been so used by the apocalyptists, especially in the minds of an audience of scribes and Pharisees. We must, I think, suppose that if our Lord used the phrase in this passage He meant to claim a high, supernatural dignity.

(2) The second problem presents us with a similar conflict between our Lord's usual refusal to work a 'sign' (Lk. 11[29]) and the avowed purpose of this miracle as a proof. The synoptic Gospels make it quite clear that our Lord's miracles of healing

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[1] See on this subject Burkitt, *Christian Beginnings*, pp. 29 ff.; Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. i, pp. 362 ff.; Gore, *Belief in Christ*, pp. 30 ff.

were done out of compassion, as the individual cases appeared. He did not go out of His way to heal, nor did He seek any other result from them than the relief of the suffering. The passage in Lk. $7^{20-22}$ might be taken to imply a demonstration of His power before the messengers of John: but it need imply no more than that the messengers were present at some healings, which were quoted afterwards, not intended beforehand, as evidence of the Messiah: in any case the great bulk of the healing miracles present no ambiguity. Why then does our Lord apparently break this rule?

His usual desire, at this period of His ministry, that He should not be openly proclaimed as Messiah, is not difficult to understand. He did not wish to be involved in the popular misconceptions of the Messiah and still less did He wish to be made the centre of a popular rising. The knowledge of His Messiahship was for His own immediate circle, within which He could hope to mould the Messianic hope into the true form. And so too, though He healed out of compassion, He did not undertake any healing campaign as a proof of His Messianic dignity and power. Both these attitudes are so readily intelligible that the exception here is undoubtedly difficult to explain.

There may, of course, have been special circumstances, not apparent to us, which decided our Lord to make an exception here. Life obviously presents occasions when a line of policy is best served by what, on the face of it, is a departure from the normal rule. Rawlinson (*op. cit.*, p. 25), following Loisy, suggests another hypothesis. Verse 24, even when S. Luke has improved upon S. Mark's style by modifying a clumsy repetition, is still so awkward in its transition from the onlookers to the paralytic and in the use of the parenthesis, that we may suspect an insertion into the original story, made perhaps before S. Mark came to write it down, and faithfully recorded by him. It is suggested that the original story told only of the healing, and that it was expanded for homiletic purposes when it came to be told at the meetings of Christians for worship. 'We may suppose that the episode of the paralytic came to be expanded in Christian preaching in such a way as to convey the lesson that bodily healing is but a sacrament of the more important healing of the soul, and that the controversial element came in as an echo of early Christian controversy with the synagogue' (Rawlinson, *loc. cit.*). If this somewhat drastic solution is correct, we need not suppose that our Lord never claimed to forgive sins and to heal the soul, as He healed the body: cf. Lk. $7^{48}$.

$5^{17}$. *Pharisees and doctors of the law.* The Pharisees formed a school or party within Judaism, their distinguishing feature being their zealous devotion not only to the Law but also to the interpreting tradition ('the tradition of the elders') which had grown up as a fence to the Law through the work of generations of scribes. Montefiore thinks that five-sixths of the nation were Pharisaic more or less (*Synoptic Gospels*, p. lxxi). Their origin is to be sought in the great days of national awakening under the Maccabees, when, in reaction against hellenizing forces that threatened to destroy all that was distinctive in the national religion, the 'Chasidim' or Holy Men flung themselves into the ardent defence of a strict and unbending Judaism. This Puritan movement produced the Pharisees, or 'separatists', who, as their name indicated, held aloof not only from the heathen but also from the hellenizing and worldly tendencies among their own people. Their zeal appealed to the patriotic feeling of the people, and the Pharisees were the popular religious leaders much more than the priests. Many priests were Pharisees, but the more prosperous families in the priestly caste were Sadducees, an aristocratic and conservative body, who did not always resist the temptation to exalt the *status quo*, to make themselves comfortable in Zion by political compromises, and to 'put down enthusiasm'. The Pharisees kept alive and vigorous the Messianic hope and the belief in the resurrection: they taught the people in the synagogues, and made proselytes: they stood for Jewish nationalism against Roman and Greek encroachments and Sadducean compromises. Among them were found both the best and the worst elements of Judaism. On the one hand was a high spirit of devotion to God and His will as revealed in the Law; and there is much in the later Jewish literature which shows the fine spirituality and moral earnestness produced by this type of religion. On the other hand were all the vices of legalism and exclusiveness—arrogance, formalism, and a blind and rigid complacency. S. Paul in his pre-Christian period united in his own person the virtues and vices of Pharisaism—its fierce devotion, missionary zeal, and learning, its bitter rigorism and persecuting harshness.[1]

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[1] For further information on Pharisaism see Oesterley and Box, *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*; G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*; and for a Jewish view Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism*

A clash between our Lord and the Pharisees was inevitable: but it is probable that the early Christian controversy with Jewish opponents has somewhat heightened the colour of the picture which we get in the Gospels of that controversy.

The scribes were an unpaid body of teachers and interpreters of the Law. Their position in the Jewish nation had a peculiar importance owing to the character of the Law. The Law affected both religious and secular affairs, and so covered the whole of life. Consequently the scribe combined many functions which in the complex modern state are kept apart: he was a teacher, preacher, scholar, lawyer, magistrate, theologian, moralist: he did much of what is now done by the journalist and writer. It was the accumulated lore of the scribes which became that 'tradition', second only in weightiness to the Law itself, which the Pharisees upheld. Hence many of the scribes are closely associated with Pharisaism, the academic basis of which they provide. Their casuistry was often puerile, but there were great men among them such as Gamaliel, the teacher of S. Paul. They naturally shared the characteristic qualities of the Pharisaic party.

$5^{18}$. *a man that was palsied.* S. Luke uses what appears to be a quasi-technical term (*παραλελυμένος*, as in Hippocrates, Galen, &c.) instead of the popular word used by S. Mark (*παραλυτικός*).

$5^{24}$. The way in which S. Luke softens the harshness of S. Mark's style may be conveniently illustrated by a small detail here. S. Mark used an unliterary word (*κράββατος*) for 'bed': S. Luke replaces it by a more suitable word (*κλινίδιον*).

### $5^{27-39}$. *Call of Levi: two more objections from the Pharisees.* Mk. $2^{13-22}$.

Any association with a tax-collector was bad enough in Pharisaic eyes: to eat with him was deep defilement. Tax-collectors were disliked not only for reasons common the world over, but also as anti-nationalist, and as polluted both by their own misdeeds and by their professional association with all and sundry, which made them ceremonially impure and, in consequence, careless of the Law. Hence the common formula 'publicans and sinners', 'sinners' being those who were careless of Pharisaic standards of purity, not necessarily persons of immoral life, though of course in some cases they might be that as well. Our Lord's

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*and the Gospels.* See also Burkitt in *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1927, 'Jesus and the Pharisees'. There is an admirable short account by Dr. E. R. Bevan in the Cambridge Ancient History, Volume 9, Chapter 9.

association with these and other outcasts from respectable circles was a scandal in His own day, as it has been one of the great causes of rejoicing to His followers ever since.

The description of Levi's call, as Rawlinson points out, gives the impression that the call is that of an Apostle, and so far corroborates Matt.'s identification of Levi with the Apostle S. Matthew.

$5^{31-32}$. Jesus quotes a proverb, which gets a new flavour from the gentle irony He throws into it: compare for the sense of the passage the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Lk. 18).

$5^{33-35}$. *A question about fasting.* S. Luke attributes the question to the Pharisees: in Matt. $9^{14}$ it is given to John's disciples; S. Mark says 'John's disciples and the Pharisees were fasting: and they come and say . . .' (Mk. $2^{18}$). From our Lord's answer it appears that the main comparison is between His followers and John's, and that probably the incident occurred when John had been 'taken away'. In His answer our Lord takes it for granted that fasting is a natural and proper thing in its right place: one does not fast if one is a 'son of the bridechamber' (i.e. a groomsman, or perhaps a wedding guest) at wedding celebrations, but fasting is appropriate as an expression of sorrow and mourning. (The *ascetic* use of fasting, as a bodily discipline, does not arise in this passage.) John's disciples fast because their leader ('bridegroom') has been taken away: Jesus's disciples do not fast, because their bridegroom is still with them. But when He is taken away (the first hint is given here of our Lord's foreboding of the death that awaits Him) they will fast.

The Pharisees fasted 'twice in the week' (Lk. $18^{12}$) and from the early Christian booklet known as *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* we learn that the days were Mondays and Thursdays, whereas the Christians fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays, in memory of the Lord's betrayal and crucifixion.

$5^{36-39}$. Two little parables are added to point the moral of the foregoing controversy. Two interpretations of them seem possible. (1) The new cannot be confined within the limits of the old. Though our Lord builds on the foundation of the prophets, yet the coming of the Kingdom and the Messiah means a new start, and a religious edifice quite other than the old one. For the first readers of this Gospel the impossibility of confining the Church within the old Jewish limits would be vividly clear. Or (2) in a rather narrower sense, 'if the followers of John adopt simply the non-ascetic features of My teaching, they will be harmed rather than helped'.

Verse 39 is found only in Lk.: in Codex Bezae (D) and most of the best old Latin versions it is omitted from the text. If it is retained, we have a third little parable, adding a new point, an explanation of why the 'new wine' is rejected. The conservatism and inertia of men make them refuse new things, because they are accustomed to the old and find the old good enough for them. It should be noted that the old wine is Judaism, the new wine Christianity, and that therefore the comparative merits of old and new wines in themselves are irrelevant here: the point is not that one sort of wine is better than another, but that a new thing has always to meet the opposition of human prejudices. The reading of the A.V. 'the old is better' is wrong and has confused the point: R.V. rightly reads 'the old is good' (χρηστός not χρηστότερος). But it must be admitted that this verse comes in a little awkwardly, and this fact, with the omission of the verse in D and in the old Latin, as well as in the manuscripts of Matt. and Mk., suggests that the saying does not rightly belong to this context.

$6^{1-11}$. The growth of opposition is next illustrated by two incidents connected with the Sabbath. Lk. plainly hints, Matt. and Mk. definitely assert, that our Lord's life was in danger after this. On both occasions the question turns not on the general obligation to keep the Sabbath, but on the sort of exceptions which may properly be made. Not all the Rabbis would have disagreed with our Lord in His principle that human need modifies the obligation. There is a rabbinical saying in the Talmud, 'Unto you is the Sabbath given over, and ye are not given over to the Sabbath'. But the Pharisees generally did not regard it as lawful to heal on the Sabbath except when life was actually in danger: and the more rigid would regard the disciples' action in plucking the corn as definitely forbidden. See Abrahams, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 132.

$6^{3-4}$. The reference is to 1 Sam. $21^{1-6}$, where the priest's name is given as Ahimelech, not Abiathar, as in Mk. $2^{26}$. Tradition said that the incident took place on a Sabbath. For the 'shewbread' or 'presence-bread' see Lev. $24^{5-9}$, Exod. $25^{30}$.

$6^{5}$. S. Luke leaves out Mk. $2^{27}$: 'The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath'. Again, some scholars would take 'Son of man' as simply a misunderstanding of the Aramaic, and suppose that our Lord asserts that man is lord of the Sabbath. But this is very improbable: our Lord is not denying the divine institution of the Sabbath and making it a purely human custom, of which man is absolute master (κύριος). Rawlinson (*op. cit.*, p. 34) thinks it unlikely that our Lord would have emphasized His personal lordship of the Sabbath, and explains the verse as a Christian comment. But our Lord did not hesitate on other matters to set His own authority against what 'was said to them of old time' (Matt. 5), on divine authority.

Codex D places verse 5 after verse 10 and in its place has 'on the same day, seeing a man working on the Sabbath he said unto him, Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou: but if thou knowest not, thou art accursed and a transgressor of the law'. Cp. Rom. 2 for the thought, which seems more akin to S. Paul's attitude to the Law than to our Lord's explicit teaching about the Law in the Gospels; though, of course, S. Paul's attitude is no more than the necessary consequence of the new outlook which our Lord gave.

$6^{7}$. The penalty for profaning the Sabbath was death (Exod. $31^{14}$): the Pharisees are seeking evidence for a capital charge.

$6^{9}$. The meaning is not quite certain. Either the contrast is between Jesus' intention to heal and the Pharisees' intention to let the evil alone, which is equivalent to willing that it should continue, and so is 'to do harm': or our Lord sets His purpose of saving the man with the paralysed arm against the Pharisees' purpose of compassing His own death.

$6^{10}$. *he looked round about.* Mk. $3^{5}$ adds 'with anger'. S. Luke tends to soften down anything in S. Mark's account which he considers derogatory to our Lord's supernatural dignity. Reverence leads him to do so, but it is doubtful whether unruffled calm has the high moral value which we, knowing how infrequently our own anger is righteous indignation, are inclined to attribute to it.

$6^{11}$. Both Matt. and Lk. omit S. Mark's reference to a coalition between Pharisees and Herodians against Jesus. Such a combination of enemies is remarkable, as Herod and his circle were in ordinary circumstances distrusted and disliked by the nationalist Pharisees. However, common antagonisms make strange allies, and there is nothing unlikely in the hypothesis that the Pharisees sought the aid of the government in their attempt to suppress Jesus. The Pharisaic plot is the climax to which the preceding narrative leads up, with its four stages in the conflict between our Lord and His opponents among the popular religious leaders—(*a*) the claim to forgive sins, (*b*) the dealings with publicans and sinners, (*c*) the neglect of fasting, (*d*) the breach of Sabbath regulations.

$6^{12-19}$. The concluding section of Marcan [1] material before the 'lesser interpolation' ($6^{20}$–$8^{3}$). The call of the Twelve is a critical point in the narrative of our Lord's life, and appropriately winds up this first part of the account of His mission. From now onwards He has an inner ring of closely attached disciples, as well as the larger body of followers less definitely committed to Him. S. Luke does not mention the purpose for which the Twelve were called, but it is given with some precision in S. Mark's account. The purpose was threefold: (1) that they might be with Him, (2) that He might send them forth to preach, and (3) to have authority to cast out devils. The Twelve were to share His life and His work; in intimate fellowship with Him day by day He could train them to a fuller understanding of Himself and His work and message; so trained, they could act as His delegates in proclaiming the Gospel and healing the sick, and thus enable Him to reach a large number of people. The number twelve clearly corresponds to the twelve tribes of Israel (Lk. $22^{30}$), and 'symbolizes the mission of the Messiah to His own people' (Rawlinson). The name 'apostles' which, according to S. Luke, was given to the Twelve by our Lord Himself, is a Greek word, and was used instead of 'the Twelve' by the second generation of Christians; the term was also used in a wider sense to signify missionary preachers who passed from one Christian community to another.

S. Luke's list of the Twelve agrees with those in Matt. and Mk. except that he has 'Judas the son of James' instead of Thaddaeus (or, as in some manuscripts, Lebbaeus): the fourth Gospel also refers to a 'Judas, not Iscariot' (John $14^{22}$). Either the same man had the two names, or we are to infer that by the time at which the Gospels were written there was already some uncertainty about one of the Twelve.

The importance of this election of the Twelve for the future development of Christianity is well expressed by Godet: 'the election of the Twelve is the first act of organization done by Jesus Christ. Except the sacraments, it is the only one. For it was this college, once constituted, which was one day to produce the rest.'

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[1] Taylor, *Behind the Third Gospel*, pp. 81–3, argues that these verses are not based on Mk., but belong to the Q material of the following section.

$6^{12}$. Our Lord's habit of prayer is instanced frequently in Lk.: see $3^{21}$ (His baptism), $5^{16}$ (retirement in the deserts), $6^{12}$, $9^{18}$ (before Peter's confession), $9^{29}$ (Transfiguration), $11^{1}$ (before giving His disciples the Lord's Prayer), $22^{32}$ (prayer for Peter), $23^{34}$ and $23^{46}$ (on the Cross). This all-night vigil is clearly a preparation for the step He is about to take in choosing His apostles.

$6^{14}$. *Simon, whom he also named Peter.* Simon is the Hebrew Symeon. The name Peter is the equivalent of the Aramaic Kephas, meaning a 'rock' or 'stone'. When was the name given? At the great moment when S. Peter confessed Jesus as the Christ near Caesarea Philippi (Matt. $16^{18}$) or at his first introduction to Jesus (John $1^{42}$)? The tradition in Matt. seems more likely to be historical.

*Bartholomew.* The name is apparently a patronymic, 'son of Tolmai', or 'Ptolemy', and suggests that this apostle had another, personal, name: as Bartholomew stands next after Philip in the list of the Twelve, and as in the fourth Gospel Nathanael is associated with Philip, we may suppose that Bartholomew and Nathanael are the same (John $1^{43}$).

$6^{15}$. *Matthew*: identified in Matt. $9^{9}$ with Levi the 'publican'.

*Simon . . . the Zealot*: Mk. 'Cananaean' from a word meaning 'zealous'. We know from Josephus that there was a political faction of Zealots, extreme nationalists who advocated rebellion against Rome, but it is not certain whether the party existed under this name before A. D. 66 (cf. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *Beginnings*, vol. i). If it did not, either the name was applied to Simon as a kind of nickname describing a marked feature of his character (in which case we ought to translate by 'the zealous' not 'the zealot') or, before joining our Lord, he may have been associated with political opinions which afterwards were held by those whom S. Luke knew as Zealots.[1]

$6^{16}$. *Iscariot*: a word of doubtful meaning, but perhaps = 'man of Kerioth' in Judaea.

$6^{17-19}$. A concluding paragraph winding up this section of Marcan material. From $6^{17}$ onwards we hear much of teaching in the open and of journeys outside as well as inside Galilee. It is reasonable to infer that the hostility of the religious authorities and of Herod excluded Jesus from the synagogues. It also appears that a definite change of method was made, marking a new stage in our Lord's earthly life. The Twelve are used as a means of extending His evangelistic work, but they also receive a careful training which occupies much of our Lord's time and attention. More and more He concentrates on them, though great crowds come round Him and are taught in parables. His fame has spread far by this time, so that even from the Phoenician seaboard pilgrims come 'to hear Him and to be healed'. Northern Galilee had close connexions with Tyre and Sidon, and probably those who came were mainly Jews, of whom numbers were settled in these two towns.

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[1] Observe, however, that what Josephus calls the fourth sect, or philosophy, founded A. D. 6 by the rebel Judas of Galilee, is described by him as having just the same bad points as the Zealots. The Zealots of A. D. 66 may have taken to themselves a term already in use: see Josephus, *Antiq.* 18. 1. 6.

$6^{20}$–$8^{3}$. This section of non-Marcan material (Q with additions) has six points: the Sermon on a level place ($6^{20-49}$); the Centurion's servant ($7^{1-10}$); the Widow's son of Nain ($7^{11-17}$); visit of John's disciples ($7^{18-35}$); the Woman that was a sinner ($7^{36-50}$); a closing section ($8^{1-3}$). There is the same looseness of connexion between the parts, which are clearly illustrative incidents rather than a complete picture.

### $6^{20-49}$. *The Sermon on a Level Place.*

Our Lord after choosing His twelve apostles comes down the mountain side and stands 'on a level place' (*ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ*), presumably a small plateau on which a number of people might collect to listen to Him. What follows is a shorter version of Matt.'s 'Sermon on the Mount': Lk. has 30 verses to Matt.'s 109. Part of Matt. 5–7 does not appear in Lk., e.g. Matt. $5^{19-24,27-28,33-39}$ (old and new versions of the Law): part occurs scattered in other places in Lk., e.g. the Lord's Prayer in Lk. $11^{2-4}$, the single eye $11^{34-35}$, the lilies $12^{27-28}$, &c. It is probable that S. Luke presents the discourse much as it appeared in Q, and that in Matt. we have an amplified form, combining teachings of our Lord from various parts of Q. It is unintelligible that S. Luke should have broken up a continuous discourse and scattered the parts without any apparent plan; but it is quite reasonable that the author of the first Gospel should have collected sayings on related topics and arranged them in compendious form.

If S. Luke gives the discourse as it appeared in Q, is he right in thinking, as he apparently does, that it was all spoken as a continuous sermon on a single occasion? Or is his version, like that in Matt., a collection of instructions and sayings uttered at different times, and put together very early by the first generation of Christians? It cannot be said that any certain answer can be given to this question, but if the sermon is a compilation it has been skilfully constructed. It falls into three parts: (1) Blessings and woes (20–26), (2) Instructions on Christian character (27–38), (3) Parabolic enforcement of these lessons—an arrangement which gives an impression of appropriateness and internal unity. On the other hand, the break in the report at verse 39 ('and he spake also a parable unto them') might be taken to show that the original discourse ended with verse 38, and that the subsequent verses belonged to related teachings given on other occasions. The second section follows the first naturally and appropriately; but as each is a self-contained whole, they could quite possibly stand by themselves.

$6^{20-26}$. (1) The variants from Matt. present some difficult problems. S. Luke gives four Beatitudes as against Matt.'s eight: he has four corresponding 'woes', which are absent from Matt.: and the persons blessed by Jesus are differently described in the two Gospels. With our purely inferential knowledge of Q, and of the way in which it has been used by the evangelists, it is not possible to explain how these differences have arisen. Commentators have exercised their ingenuity in framing hypotheses, but the evidence is insufficient. We do not know why S. Luke does not record the blessings on the meek, the merciful, the pure in heart, and the peacemakers, which have every appearance of being genuine utterances of our Lord's. Nor do we know why those who are blessed differ in the two accounts. In Lk. the blessings are definitely addressed to the disciples then present; their poverty is to be changed to wealth, their sorrow into laughter; their hunger is to be satisfied, and their reproach is to be turned into joy. The tone here reminds us of 'the poor' in the psalms, still more of the Magnificat, and of S. Paul's 'not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble' (1 Cor. $1^{26}$). In Matt. the blessings are for the most part given to certain specifically ethical dispositions and are applied universally. It should be noted, however, that the difference is less than is sometimes stated. It is not quite true to say that S. Luke is thinking of simple material conditions which in Matt. are spiritualized. S. Luke's terms are all primarily spiritual and religious. The poverty is that which is relieved by the greatest of spiritual blessings, the Kingdom of God, and the reward is in heaven; and this context sufficiently lifts the weeping and the hunger from the purely economic and material level.

In the woes which follow it is, again, worldliness rather than the mere possession of money, &c., which is denounced. Nothing but the Kingdom which Christ came to proclaim is the true satisfaction of the human spirit. Those who are satisfied and complacent in the enjoyment of temporal things are misled by spurious consolations.

This is not, of course, to say that Christ is *not* thinking of the material poverty and hunger which many of His disciples were suffering with Him. But, as with His great follower in later days, S. Francis of Assisi, these material conditions are not to be isolated from their spiritual counterparts.

$6^{20}$. Note the tense. The kingdom is already theirs, though it has not yet come in its fullness.

$6^{22}$. Excommunication from the synagogue and so from all social intercourse is primarily meant.

$6^{27\text{-}38}$. (2) Instruction on Christian duty follows the description of those who are and are not suitable for the Kingdom. S. Luke does not give certain passages which form a large part of the Matthaean parallel to this section and deal with our Lord's attitude to the Mosaic law. Hence the heroic and daring idealism of this central and most characteristic part of our Lord's moral teaching stands out with incomparable beauty and clearness. The whole passage is an exposition of Christian love (ἀγάπη) as the motive of all conduct, towards enemies as well as friends: this is the necessary corollary of being 'sons of the Most High' (v. 35), since it is in conduct that the filiation is revealed. Since God 'is kind toward the unthankful and evil', love is not to be confined to friends only, but is to have the same universality in men's wills as in God's will. God's attitude to men, which is one of love and mercy towards all of whatever kind, is to be the standard of men's attitude to each other.

For the understanding of this supremely important matter two points need careful attention.

(*a*) The word 'love' in English covers several distinct states of mind. We speak of the 'love' of friends, of the sexes, of a mother for her child, of a saint for his fellow men, the same word doing duty for a variety of distinct activities of the self, which are accompanied by equally distinct emotions. Though probably the same primary instincts supply the energy for all these different kinds of love ('sentiments' in psychological language) it is plain that the bridegroom's love of his bride and the mother's love for her child are not the same thing, and that neither of these is the same in emotional quality as the good man's love for the drunken outcast whom he is trying to reclaim. The Greek language is more precise in its terminology, and the word used in this passage (ἀγάπη) primarily denotes an attitude of the will, seeking the good of another person with disinterested sincerity. It has its own kindly emotional tone, so that it is hardly correct to make the distinction between 'loving' and 'liking', as some have done, in explaining the nature of Christian love. It is better to distinguish between different modes of love and to recognize that each has its specific kind of 'liking'. This distinction enables us to understand why 'love', in the sense of *ἀγάπη*, can be made a universal principle of action, and why it is no valid objection to say that we cannot 'love' all men, or 'love' those who repel us, since 'love' depends on attraction and is not wholly under our control. These objections would have psychological validity if the emotional reactions of husband and wife, of mother and child, or of intimate friends, were to be demanded as the ethical ideal; but they do not apply to that benevolent activity of the will which is set before us as the supreme ethical principle in the N.T.

(*b*) Even so, our Lord's uncompromising teaching here is startling. The four rules laid down in verses 29 and 30, if taken literally, demand non-resistance and non-retaliation in their completest form. It is generally held that such literalism must be wrong, on the ground that, if strictly followed, these precepts would leave the individual helpless against evil-doers and would make ordered social life impossible—results which we may confidently suppose to be contrary to the Divine will, and therefore evil. Whether or not these consequences would in fact follow a consistent practice of non-resistance by the Christian community may be doubted. It has never been tried, except to some extent by the Quakers of Pennsylvania in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where the venture of faith seems to have been very successful. However this may be, there are other considerations which make it unlikely that we have here a set of precise rules to be obeyed in a merely servile and literal fashion. Our Lord is giving illustrations of the spirit of love which is to inform all the actions of His followers. The deepest lesson of His life and death is that love has to suffer. Love cannot merely evade evil; it must meet it and challenge it. But it cannot meet it with evil. Ill will and vengeful hate, which seek to injure and defraud, will cause suffering, but they are to be met by goodwill, free from any 'hitting back', or desire to injure in return. Thus it will always appear to suffer wrong, never to do wrong. This essential character of love our Lord illustrates in that vivid and picturesque way which made His sayings so memorable and arresting. It has been plausibly suggested that the particular illustrations which He takes have special reference to the extreme nationalists of His time, who wished to meet the violence and extortion of their alien rulers with the like methods.

It would appear therefore that it is irrelevant to find here (as e.g. Tolstoy among others would have us do) a general prohibition in the abstract of all use of 'force'. There may well be a use of force which helps, as well as a use which hurts. And it is obvious that our Lord's own relation to the evil which confronted Him during His ministry was far from being one of mere passivity.

$6^{31}$. The so-called Golden Rule has parallels (in the negative form, for the most part) not only in the writings of the rabbis but also in Isocrates, in Stoic writers, and in Buddhism. The rabbis described it as the essence of the Law. Abrahams quotes a saying of Hillel, 'This is the whole Law: the rest is commentary: go and learn it' (*op. cit.*, p. 24).

$6^{35}$. *never despairing* (μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες). So the Revisers, giving the Greek verb its usual meaning. The Vulgate and the A.V. give a quite different meaning, *nihil inde sperantes*, 'hoping for nothing again', which has been taken to mean that interest on loans was forbidden to Christians: this was the general view in medieval times. There is, however, no authority for this meaning of the verb in Greek, though it is possible that S. Luke may have given the word an unfamiliar sense, on the analogy of other verbs compounded with the same preposition (e.g. ἀπεσθίειν for ἐσθίειν ἀπό, ἀπολαβεῖν for λαβεῖν ἀπό). Galen uses the word of 'desperate' cases of disease, and Hobart sees in S. Luke's use of it an instance of his 'medical language'.

$6^{37}$. The thought is the same as in the Lord's Prayer, 'forgive us our sins; for we ourselves also forgive every one that is indebted to us' (Lk. $11^4$: cf. Matt. $6^{12}$). To receive forgiveness is not a purely external transaction, but depends upon an interior ethical condition of the soul. This is the Christian view of 'grace' in general, whether sacramental or non-sacramental. It avoids the two errors of thinking that man is self-sufficient, not needing to receive something from a source other than himself, and of thinking that this grace is a kind of injection, which can be received without proper dispositions, namely, faith and repentance, which depend (at least in part) on the human will.

6[39-49]. (3) *Parables to Enforce the Ethical Instruction.* As the blind and uninstructed are incapable of guiding and teaching others, so the disciples must see and learn the truth in order to communicate it to others. As only the good tree can produce good fruit, so only the good heart can produce good deeds. As a ramshackle house without foundations is bound to collapse, so a nominal discipleship which stops at words is destined to ruin. The various illustrations reinforce and amplify one another in driving home the main truth that to do good a man must be good. To see and to learn comes first; then the purifying of the heart ('casting out the beam'); then the positive building-up of moral character ('the good heart'), which is achieved by the practice of goodness, not by a nominal and ineffectual acceptance of the Lord's teaching.

6[42]. One of our Lord's most famous hyperboles, which illustrates His graphic and picturesque manner and forbids a pedantic literalism in interpreting His sayings. The 'beam' is one of the main timbers of a building. Cf. 18[25].

7[1-10]. *The Centurion's Servant Healed at Capernaum.*

This incident at Capernaum (to which our Lord returned from 'the mountain') has two novel features; the centurion whose slave is healed is not a Jew, and the healing is done at a distance. The devout soldier is attractively sketched. He has been drawn to Judaism with its purer monotheistic faith, and, though not necessarily a proselyte, is one of those numerous Gentiles who attached themselves to the synagogue without being circumcised or adopting the ceremonial law. Probably he was an officer in the local forces of Antipas. He is revealed as *anima naturaliter Christiana* by his care for his slave. It is possible that the remains of the synagogue discovered at Tell Hum go back to his benefaction, though they may be of later date. S. Luke naturally appreciated this episode, with its tribute to a Gentile, whose faith is greater than that of Jews. His account differs slightly from that in Matt. 8[5-11], where the centurion himself comes to our Lord, and there is no mention of the two embassies of elders and friends: also Matt.'s conclusion (Matt. $8^{11,12}$) is transferred to Lk. $13^{28,29}$.

The astonishment of Jesus (v. 9) is one of the indications in the Gospels of the limits of our Lord's knowledge. Divine omniscience would not be astonished at the centurion's faith, and it is clear that our Lord was surprised at what He was told. Such limitation is inherently necessary in a true incarnation, in which Deity accepts human conditions, and the Son of God, as S. Paul says, 'empties' Himself and 'makes Himself poor' (Phil. $2^7$, 2 Cor. $8^9$). See Gore, *Belief in Christ*, pp. 222–8, for some wise remarks on the profound theological questions which arise, when we attempt to correlate our Lord's human life with the eternal perfection of the Godhead, in particular the divine omniscience and omnipotence.

### $7^{11-17}$. *The Widow's Son Raised from the Dead at Nain.*

This miracle is recorded only by S. Luke. The impression made on the popular mind ('a great prophet is arisen among us') is caused by the famous parallel stories of Elijah (1 Kings 17) and Elisha (2 Kings 4). Nain is identified with the modern village of Nein, which lies about two miles from Shunem, the scene of Elisha's miracle, and a day's journey from Capernaum. Apart from the story of Jairus' daughter (Lk. $8^{41-56}$ and parallels), which may not be a story of raising the dead, this is the only miracle of raising the dead described in the synoptic Gospels; the allusion in verse 22 ('the dead are raised up') may be based on this incident. The raising of Lazarus is found only in the fourth Gospel (John 11). Easton notes that the mention of this obscure place by name is good evidence that a miracle of Christ was associated with it.

### $7^{18-35}$. *The Coming of John's Disciples: Jesus' Comments.*

S. Luke has already mentioned that John had been thrown into prison ($3^{20}$); Matt. $11^2$ says that the message came from him in prison. What was it that led him to send to Jesus? The meaning and motive of his question are not given, and commentators have offered various explanations.

(1) Some great names (S. Chrysostom, Luther, Calvin, &c.) are associated with the view that the Baptist wished to strengthen his disciples' faith in the Messiah; but this theory does violence to the context, and in particular to the fact that our Lord addressed His reply to John himself, and pointedly referred to him at the end of His answer (v. 23).

(2) Others, assuming that John as well as Jesus had seen the Holy Ghost descending 'in a bodily form as a dove', and heard the voice from heaven (Lk. $3^{22}$) at Jesus' baptism, hold that, though the Baptist had supernatural assurance that Jesus was the Christ, he was either impatient or perplexed in his faith owing to the unexpected delay in the visible triumph of the Messiah. This may be largely true; but many critics are not prepared to accept it as a literal fact that the experience of Christ at His baptism was accompanied by external portents, visible and audible to the bystanders. The symbolic forms of His experience may have been private to our Lord, and the additions to S. Mark's account in Matt. $3^{14,15}$, as well as the Johannine narrative (John $1^{29-34}$), may contain later accretions, attributing to John more knowledge than he had.

(3) Accordingly, it may be that John did not realize the full significance of what he was doing when he baptized Jesus, and that it was not till later that he began to see that the prophet of Nazareth, who had come to be baptized in Jordan, was the very Messiah for whose coming he had been sent to prepare. On this view John's message to Jesus would be the outcome of his growing but not yet settled belief, based on the reports which had reached him in prison, that the Messiah was Jesus.

Our Lord's reply to the messengers is followed by an address to the bystanders, in which He speaks in high terms of John, and reflects sadly on the perversity of an age which complains equally of John's austerities and of the more normal way of life of the Son of man. This address seems to be understood by the evangelist as a corrective of any possible misunderstanding that might have arisen in the minds of those who had heard the gently phrased rebuke at the end of the message. John was no waverer, but a strong man, a prophet, and more than a prophet.

The relation between Christianity and John's teaching was still of considerable importance for the early Church. We see from Acts $18^{24-26}$, $19^{1-7}$, that disciples of John were scattered in various parts of the eastern Mediterranean area.

$7^{19}$. *he that cometh* (ὁ ἐρχόμενος), i.e. the Messiah: cf. $13^{35}$, $19^{38}$.

$7^{21-22}$. It is not clear whether S. Luke wishes it to be understood that the miracles were worked for the purpose of providing evidence for John's disciples to report to their master; or whether he simply records that at the time of their visit Jesus happened to be engaged in healing many sick people and drew His visitors' attention to it.

The climax is the proclamation of the 'good news' of the Kingdom, but the healing works are part of the blessings of the new age and signs of its coming.

$7^{23}$. There is no direct assertion of His Messiahship, but it is clearly implied, as is also a gentle rebuke to the questioner for his doubt. The answer must have done much to prepare the way for S. Peter's confession of Jesus as the Christ.

$7^{24}$. *a reed shaken with the wind.* Obviously a play upon words. They would find reeds in plenty in the desert by Jordan, but it was not for this that they went. Nor was the man they went out to seek like one of those reeds, weak and unstable.

$7^{27}$. Malachi $3^{1}$, with the addition of the words 'before thy face', and with two verbal changes from the Septuagint. All three synoptists have this version of the passage (which S. Mark puts at the beginning of his Gospel with a quotation from Isaiah). 'Probably the quotation in this peculiar form came originally from some early Christian collection of "proof texts" from the O.T., from which arguments were drawn by Christian controversialists who were called upon to dispute with Jews' (Rawlinson).

$7^{28}$. As being historically outside the Christian dispensation, John's position, great as it is, is less favoured than that of a 'son of the Kingdom'.

$7^{29\text{-}30}$. These verses break the sequence, and probably should be taken as a Christian comment inserted into the report of Christ's words.

$7^{31\text{-}34}$. A delightful parable, with the touch of humour in its sadness and the charming light it throws on our Lord's kindly interest in children: cf. $9^{47}$ and $18^{15\text{-}17}$. He must have watched, with amused eyes, children in the street playing at weddings and funerals, when some of their number turned wilful or sulky and refused to play at either. Jewish perversity reminds Him of the children's pettishness. John's grim warnings, his demand for repentance, and his rigorous life, had been scorned: he was a crazy fanatic. But when Jesus brought good news and followed the ordinary ways of social life, they refused Him too: He was not respectable and did not behave like the conventional 'holy man'. Nothing would please them.

$7^{35}$. The concluding sentence is probably a Christian comment. Jesus, the incarnate wisdom, has been justified at the hands of those who accepted Him, despite unbelieving Jews. They know that He is the 'way, the truth and the life'. The personification of the Divine Wisdom is found in the 'wisdom literature', e. g. Ecclesiasticus 24 and the Book of Wisdom: it had momentous consequences, since it suggested to Christian theologians, and pre-eminently to the author of the fourth Gospel, the lines along which some explanation could be given of the Person of Jesus Christ.

### $7^{36-50}$. *The Woman who was a Sinner.*

This section is notable among S. Luke's many artistic triumphs. The incident is one of great beauty and dramatic value, and it is perfectly told. As many have observed, its style and phraseology are intensely Lucan, which shows how the writer's literary sensitiveness rose to the occasion. Delicacy and subtlety, yet great reserve, dignity, and simplicity, are combined in a passage which marvellously achieves pathetic charm and avoids all sentimentality.

The looseness with which the parts of the Gospel narrative are put together leaves the reader with many questions unanswered. We do not know who this Simon the Pharisee was, when or where the episode occurred. Nor do we know how Simon came to invite Jesus to dinner. He cannot have been an open enemy: perhaps he was simply curious, or even rather contemptuously patronizing, as might be suggested by verses 44–46; perhaps he had a restless feeling that there was more in this prophet than the official leaders had seen or would admit (see v 39). Further problems arise when we set this passage beside the closely similar narratives in Mk. $14^{3-9}$ (=Matt. $26^{6-13}$) and John $12^{1-8}$. All four evangelists have a story of a woman who anointed Jesus while He reclined at dinner: but there are many variants, as the following table will serve to show:

| | *S. Luke.* | *S. Mark.* | *S. John.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Person | A sinner | A woman | Mary of Bethany. |
| Place | Capernaum (?), at the house of Simon the Pharisee | Bethany, at the house of Simon the leper | Bethany, apparently at Lazarus' house. |
| Time | During the Galilean ministry | Holy Week | Six days before the Passover. |
| Objection | Not a real prophet | Waste of money | Waste of money. |
| Made by | Simon | Some of those present | Judas Iscariot. |

The close likeness between the Marcan and Johannine accounts, and their common differences from the Lucan story, make it probable that either (1) there were two occasions on which our Lord received anointing, or (2) that there was only one anointing

—at Bethany—and that S. Luke received the tradition in a form which distorted the details and confused the occasion of the anointing with a quite different visit paid by our Lord to a man called Simon. (See the discussion in Rawlinson, pp. 196 ff.)

$7^{37}$. *a sinner.* Probably a prostitute. The word is often used (as in the phrase 'publicans and sinners') for those 'people of the land' who made no attempt to keep the requirements of the law against defilement, and were *ceremonially* 'unclean': the Pharisaic standard was all but impossible for many of the poor, who were unable, for instance, to avoid frequent, daily contact with Gentiles. Here, however, more than this is involved, as is plain not only from our Lord's reference to the woman's many sins, but also from the whole tenor of the story. Verse 39 implies that she was a notorious character.

$7^{38}$. To let down her hair was a minor impropriety which showed that she was 'not respectable'.

$7^{47}$. *for she loved much.* At first sight these words appear to give the reason for her being forgiven. This interpretation, however, does not fit naturally with (*a*) the parable in verses 41, 42, where love is the *effect*, not the cause of forgiveness, (*b*) with the remainder of this verse, (*c*) with verse 50, where our Lord declares that her faith was the cause of her receiving forgiveness. Some commentators would avoid the difficulty by the doctrine that love is that which completes and fulfils contrition, so that the woman's whole attitude of repentant faith is covered by the term love, the factor which brings it to perfection. Others take the words as giving, not the reason why the sinner was forgiven, but the evidence by which Simon can be convinced that her many sins have already been forgiven. The woman had already been brought to repentance before she appeared at Simon's house: it was her gratitude which led her to this impulsive act of loving homage. The parable leads to the conclusion that great love may be expected to arise in the heart of one to whom much has been forgiven: conversely, therefore, where much love, the effect, appears, we may reasonably infer the cause, forgiveness of much. Simon regards the woman as in her sins: but he admits that one who has been forgiven will feel love towards the forgiver, and that the greater the forgiveness, the greater will be the love: now the woman shows great love: Simon therefore ought to see that her great sins have been forgiven.

This second view gives a more satisfactory interpretation than the first, which reads too much into the text.

$8^{1-3}$. A closing paragraph, summing up this section of Q L material, and telling how certain women provided the necessary funds to maintain Jesus and the Twelve while they were engaged in their mission work. Plummer remarks: 'This form of piety was not rare. Women sometimes contributed largely towards the support of Rabbis, whose rapacity in accepting what could ill be spared was rebuked by Christ (xx. 47) with great severity.' It is important to observe that our Lord accepted the help of the well-to-do for Himself and His apostles without insisting on any general renunciation of possessions. There is no indication that the demand made of the rich man in Lk. $18^{22}$ (Mk. $10^{21}$) applies universally. Not all have the same vocation: for some there is the stewardship of wealth, for others varying degrees of renunciation which culminate in the Franciscan poverty required of a few selected souls. Yet the moral danger of riches is strongly emphasized in Lk. $18^{24}$.

$8^{2}$. *Mary that was called Magdalene*, i.e. of Magdala, a town not mentioned by name in the N.T. (Matt. $15^{39}$ should read Magadan). The name is a hellenized form of Migdol, meaning a watch-tower. The site is probably that now occupied by the small village of Mejdel. Mary Magdalene is traditionally identified with 'the woman that was a sinner', and also (in view of the other anointing story) with Mary of Bethany, but the assumption is entirely unfounded. For other references to Mary Magdalene see Mk. $15^{40,47}$, $16^{1}$; Lk. $24^{10}$; Matt. $27^{56,61}$, $28^{1}$.

$8^{3}$. *Joanna* appears with Mary Magdalene as discovering the empty tomb (Lk. $24^{10}$). It has been conjectured that Chuza may be the nobleman of John $4^{46}$. Of Susanna nothing is known.

$8^{4}$–$9^{50}$. In this section, which concludes the narrative of the Galilean ministry, S. Luke follows Mk.: see the general note Lk. $4^{14}$.

$8^{4-15}$. *The Parable of the Sower* (Mk. 4, Matt. 13).

This is one of the three parables recorded by all three synoptists, the other two being the 'Mustard Seed' and the 'Wicked Husbandmen' parables. In S. Luke's Gospel it is the only parable which has appended to it an explanation of its meaning: Matt. 13 has a similar explanation following the parable of the Tares, which is not found in Lk.

The parable plainly gives our Lord's own experience as a preacher of 'the word of God', and must therefore have been uttered after He had been occupied for some time in His ministry. As He stood speaking to the 'great multitude', His eye may have fallen on the opposite hill-side where a man was sowing in a field crossed by a hard-trodden path and containing outcrops of rock and weedy patches, where careless farming had failed to root out the thorns. The parallel to His own experience would strike Him, and He uses the incident (v. 8b) to press home the lesson of the responsibility of those who listen to Him—a lesson which He had found to be urgently needed. The explanation to the disciples classifies those who fail to profit by the word of God into three types suggested by the three kinds of unfavourable ground: the hard path where the seed gets no entrance suggests the hard hearts prevented by evil influences from any acceptance of what they hear, the rocky ground the impulsive shallow people who fail in the face of difficulty, the thorny ground those who are too occupied with follies or trivialities to give much time to God and His kingdom.

## NOTE E. THE PURPOSE OF PARABLES

There is some difficulty in the interpretation of vv. 9, 10. The use of parables as a method of teaching was very frequent among the rabbis, and it is a commonplace that a vivid story is an effective means of conveying truth to simple people untrained in the use of abstract ideas. Yet in this passage the parabolic method, instead of being regarded as a special device for imparting truth, is apparently intended to conceal truth from the majority of the listeners, 'that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand': Mk. $4^{11-12}$ is even more decisive on the point, and though Matt. $13^{11-15}$ modifies the passage in a different sense, it is still clear that the people are not enlightened by the parable. A distinction is drawn between the inner group of the initiated, for whom the parable is a true revelation of a Divine Secret (the mysteries of the Kingdom of God), and 'the rest', for whom it is an enigma, the surface meaning of which is all they see and understand.

It must be said to be very unlikely that our Lord would use the familiar device of the parable for the purpose of misleading His hearers.[1] Nor are the parables, in fact, difficult to understand.

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[1] 'To suppose that Jesus taught in parables in order that men might misunderstand is to mistake an Oriental process of thought by which consequences are often confused with motives' (Abrahams, *op. cit.*, p. 106).

There are inevitably some uncertainties for modern readers of the N.T., because we do not always know the context in which the parable was uttered: and a profound grasp of all the moral and spiritual truth contained in any of our Lord's parables will only be possible for minds that have advanced far in the Christian life. But, with these provisos, it is true to say that the parables are readily intelligible in their meaning and application. It would appear probable, therefore, that, as many critics hold, there has been some misunderstanding of our Lord's teaching. If so, it may well have arisen in this way. The passage in Isaiah here referred to (Isa. $6^{9-10}$) was clearly taken by the early Christian Church as prophetic of the faithless Jews who failed to accept the Christ when He came: cf. John $12^{40}$, Acts $28^{26-27}$. As every parable has two meanings, its surface meaning and its Messianic meaning, it would not be unnatural for the early Christians to suppose that the two meanings were intended for two different types of hearers. Only those who had faith could pass from the first and obvious meaning to the underlying truth. Unbelief would be a barrier to that passage. Thus the parables were regarded (so it seems) as a test, discriminating between faithful and faithless; and the deep conviction of the absolute control of God over human affairs would see behind the different choices the overruling hand of God, giving to His elect the power to understand, and to the rest a hardened heart and a dimmed vision. The fact that, when the parables came to be told apart from the context which made their meaning clear, they needed some explanation, would increase this belief in their intentional obscurity. And it seems quite certain that our Lord in His teaching, whether by parable or not, did intend to provoke thought, and that His short sayings as well as His parables and symbolic tales were not meant to be taken with an unthinking literalism. This fact would go a long way in confirming the early Christian belief that the parables were intentionally used for a double purpose.

Difficult as it is to think that our Lord definitely intended to conceal truth by His parables, it is not at all improbable that He used, and intended to use, parables with two groups of hearers in His mind—casual listeners who could get something from hearing the tale as they passed by, and those convinced followers and intimates who would penetrate deep into His meaning and see each part of His teaching in relation to the whole. Moreover, the vivid and memorable story would be easily remembered even by the casual hearer, and what he heard without understanding at the time might afterwards win attention as it lingered in his memory.

$8^{15}$. *with patience.* The Greek word ὑπομονή means rather 'endurance' or 'perseverance'. The 'honest and good heart' holds fast what it has received, and persists in goodness.

$8^{16-18}$. This short collection of sayings is taken over from Mk. $4^{21-25}$, but they occur elsewhere in Lk. separately: see Lk. $11^{33}$ (the lamp), $12^{2}$ (the unveiling of what is hidden), $19^{26}$ (those who have shall receive more). Probably the sayings occurred in Q as well as in Mk. The difficulty of recovering their original context can perhaps best be realized by noticing their position in the first Gospel (see Matt. $5^{15}$, $10^{26}$, $13^{12}$, $25^{29}$) and comparing the Marcan and Lucan arrangements. The fact that our Lord may very well have used the same phrases on more than one occasion does not of itself remove the difficulty, as their appropriateness varies greatly in the different contexts in which they appear. As understood by S. Luke and S. Mark in this passage, we seem to get first an injunction to share the light received from Christ's parable, then an assurance that the concealment of truth by the parable from the multitude at large is not intended to be permanent, and thirdly a warning to the disciples to profit by what they hear. But it is plain that we have to read a good deal between the lines to get this amount of connexion; and the final warning is much more appropriate in its place in Lk. $19^{26}$ (Parable of the Talents), where it stresses a profound psychological truth.

$8^{19-21}$. This visit of Jesus' mother and brethren is placed by Matt. ($12^{46-50}$) and Mk. ($3^{31-35}$) before the parable of the sower. Probably S. Luke has varied the order slightly so as to keep in separate sections the parabolic teaching ($8^{4-16}$), taken over from Mk. $4^{1-25}$, and the narrative passage which follows, also from Mk. ($4^{35}$–$9^{40}$).

The incident is doubtless recorded as making plain that those who 'hear the word of God, and do it' are the spiritual kin of the Christ. There is no implication that our Lord refused to see His family: they had to send a message because of the crowd.

$8^{22-25}$. *The Stilling of the Storm.*

This is one of the so-called 'nature-miracles' or 'wonder stories', in which our Lord is said to have controlled the physical forces of Nature in a way which goes beyond normal human experience.

A distinction has often been drawn between this type of miracle and the 'healing miracles', to which analogies can be found in medical practice and elsewhere. The distinction has its uses, but it should not be pressed too far. Both types of miracle imply the same supernatural power in the Christ. There is nothing in modern psychotherapy to parallel the instantaneous cures at a distance attributed to our Lord. See, for an admirably penetrating discussion of this and the three 'wonder stories' which follow, H. G. Wood in Peake's *Commentary*, p. 687. That these stories have a basis of historical fact cannot be denied without arbitrary scepticism; but they come to us in the *form* of popular legends, and have all the atmosphere which belongs to the folk-tale, colouring the nucleus of fact with the awed wonder and imaginative play of unscientific peasant minds.

$8^{23}$. *a storm of wind.* Sudden squalls rush with great violence down the numerous ravines on the north-east and east of the lake, and make navigation dangerous even in clear weather. They come and go with equal suddenness.

$8^{25}$. *where is your faith?* Jesus rebukes them for not sharing His faith in the protecting hand of God. The emphasis on faith in this group of stories is marked: cf. $8^{48}$, $8^{50}$.

The effect of the miracle is to deepen the awe and astonishment of His disciples. The impression made by Jesus on His associates is the most important historical fact we can gather from these stories of His marvellous power, and their spontaneous testimony to the mysterious wonder of His personality cannot be affected, whatever view we take of any one story of miracle.

$8^{26-39}$. *The Demoniac in the Tombs.*

The story comes to us in the form which belongs to the popular ideas about exorcism. The unfortunate man (a case of delusional insanity) is associated with tombs, because he himself and his contemporaries thought of devils as connected with tombs and the spirits of the dead: the demon is afraid of the exorcist and asks Him not to torment him: Jesus demands his name, a detail which, if historical, may be due to the fact that knowledge of the name of the possessed was supposed to be necessary in exorcising[1]: the 'many devils' entreat Jesus not to command them to depart into the 'abyss', i.e. the subterranean prison-house of evil spirits: they can enter into animals, which they hurl to destruction. All this is part of the furniture of the popular mind of the time. It does not affect the historical nucleus of the story, a supernatural healing of a lunatic.

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[1] See, however, the note on demoniac possession.

$8^{26}$. *country of the Gerasenes.* The manuscripts vary between 'Gadarenes', 'Gerasenes', and 'Gergesenes'. Origen was the first to maintain that on geographical grounds Gergesenes must be right. There was a well-known town of Gerasa, but it was nearly forty miles from the lake on the borders of Arabia: Gadara, also well known, lay six miles to the south-east of the lake. Many scholars follow Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 377) in identifying the town here mentioned with the modern Khersa, near Magdala: cf. Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, pp. 25 sqq., 92 sq.

$8^{28}$. *Son of the Most High God.* The demons are believed to have superhuman knowledge of the true nature of Jesus.

*I beseech thee.* S. Luke modifies the phrase of S. Mark ($5^{7}$), 'I adjure thee by God', with its quaint naïvety in making the demon appeal to Jesus in the name of God! The Marcan version shows very well the simple artlessness of the form in which these tales have come down to us.

$8^{30}$. *what is thy name?* The knowledge of the demon's name was supposed to give an advantage to the exorcist in expelling him. The name 'Legion', transliterated here and in Mk. into Greek, seems to show that we have here an authentic detail. A legion was a brigade of Roman infantry, of a nominal strength of 6,000 men, though usually of an actual strength of 3,000–4,000.

$8^{32-33}$. The destruction of the herd of swine, which 'rushed down the steep into the lake', is attributed to the transference of the demons from the man to the animals. Unless we insist on taking every detail of the story as literally accurate, there is no need to enter into the supposed moral difficulty presented by this destruction of an innocent pig-farmer's property. The panic in the herd may well be authentic: it is difficult to detach it from the rest of the story. But the connexion between the healing of the demoniac and the loss of the herd is most probably an inference from the current ideas about possession. 'If a sudden movement of the lunatic in the course of healing frightened the pigs, onlookers with such beliefs (and the man himself) would conclude that the demons had taken up a fresh residence and would describe the event accordingly' (H. G. Wood, *loc. cit.*).[1]

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[1] See the reconstruction in the anonymous *By an Unknown Disciple.*

8$^{35}$. The fear of the local people (stressed again in v. 37) is a superstitious terror at the power of the mysterious visitor. They were probably Gentiles, since Jews would not keep herds of swine, unclean animals which the law forbade them to touch. Our Lord complies with their entreaty that He would go away, since His mission was in any case primarily to His own people, and He could do little in face of the popular panic. The man whom He had healed is told to declare the great things God had done for him, an exception to our Lord's usual command that secrecy should be observed about healings. The exception is doubtless made because Jesus was leaving those parts and because the people were Gentiles: both reasons would make the usual objections to publicity irrelevant.

### 8$^{40-56}$. *Jesus restores Jairus' Daughter and Heals a Woman with an Issue of Blood.*

The three synoptists all give these two miracles dovetailed together: cf. Mk. 5$^{21-43}$, Matt. 9$^{18-26}$. The narrative here shows very clearly how our Lord's life was almost entirely without privacy at this period. As soon as He returns from the other side of the lake, He is beset by eager crowds and individuals demanding His aid.

S. Luke regards the restoration of Jairus' daughter as a miracle of raising the dead, as is shown by verse 53 ('knowing that she was dead'). Yet in verse 52 ('she is not dead but sleepeth') we have words of our Lord's which make this a doubtful interpretation. We must be content to leave the matter undecided as we have now no means of getting behind the narrative to the events themselves. The miracle on the way to Jairus' house is very vividly told, and its almost mechanical healing mirrors popular ideas. We know little of the possibilities of such healing by mere contact, but at least this incident may be said to be in line with many other recorded instances of faith-healing. Our Lord tells the woman that her faith has produced the result, but He is also represented as saying that He felt that power had gone forth from Him. The two statements seem to belong to different conceptions of how such healing takes place, and in the present state of our knowledge we should be more inclined to stress the influence of faith. To say that the cure was produced by 'auto-suggestion' adds little or nothing in the way of explanation, since it merely gives another name to a process that remains still obscure.

$8^{41}$. *ruler of the synagogue.* Synagogues were administered by a body of elders or rulers, but the 'archisynagogus' is distinguished from them. He had the duty of controlling the conduct of public worship.

$8^{43}$. *twelve years.* Hobart notes S. Luke's mention of the duration of diseases and counts it a mark of his medical interest: cf. Lk. $13^{16}$, Acts $3^{2}$, $4^{22}$, $9^{33}$.

*had spent all her living upon physicians.* Compare the fuller form in Mk. $5^{26}$, which S. Luke modifies, perhaps out of loyalty to his profession.

$8^{44}$. The woman touches Jesus' clothing secretly owing to the uncleanness her touch would produce (Lev. $15^{25}$). The simple-minded but ardent faith and expectation of cure would powerfully aid the healing power, which is conceived of as flowing like an invisible current from the Lord's person. The idea in the woman's mind (and perhaps in S. Luke's) is not far removed from the magical, but the element of superstition is outweighed by the faith which, as our Lord tells her, made her whole.

$8^{50}$. *only believe.* The emphasis on faith implies that it is the indispensable condition of healing. The Gospels generally give us to understand that though there is a divine intervention in all spiritual healing, a factor which comes from 'outside', yet right internal dispositions on the human side are ordinarily required. Thus our Lord 'could do no mighty work' among the unbelieving Nazarenes.

$8^{51}$. *Peter and John and James.* The three were our Lord's most intimate companions, 'elect of the elect' as Clement of Alexandria calls them. The order of names shows Peter's position as leader in the apostolic group and in the primitive Church.

$8^{54}$. *maiden, arise.* S. Mark gives the original Aramaic words, 'Talitha cumi', which probably stuck in S. Peter's memory and, being quoted by him in recounting the story, became incorporated in the Marcan narrative.

$8^{55}$. The kindly thought and its homeliness throw an undesigned but vivid light on our Lord's personality.

## $9^{1-50}$. *Final Stage of the Galilean Ministry.*

This section has nine episodes which fall into two main groups, (1) the Mission of the Twelve, (2) S. Peter's Confession and the Transfiguration.

(1) (*a*) The Twelve are sent out; (*b*) Herod is alarmed; (*c*) the Twelve return; (*d*) Jesus feeds the multitude in the desert

place to which He and His apostles have withdrawn for a rest (vv. 1–17).

(2) (*a*) S. Peter's confession; (*b*) the first prediction of the Passion; (*c*) the Transfiguration; (*d*) the healing of the epileptic boy; (*e*) the second prediction of the Passion (vv. 18–50).

## NOTE F. THE SUFFERING MESSIAH

It is at once obvious that a new note is introduced into the story from this point. The final stage of the Galilean ministry leads on to the journey of the Christ to the capital, a journey made in the conscious knowledge that He is there to be rejected and meet His death.

The narrative rises to a climax with S. Peter's confession of Jesus as the Christ and our Lord's Transfiguration. The evangelist has so far presented a twofold development. Jesus has proclaimed the coming Kingdom of God and has shown forth the signs of its beginning in His miracles and His forgiveness of sins: this work has been public and for His people at large. Side by side with this has been the private education of the intimate group of twelve chosen disciples. Of the details of this process we have seen little, but the fruits of it are now to become manifest. (1) The Twelve are given authority to share His work and His power. (2) They have been brought by close daily contact with their Leader to realize that He is the long-expected Christ of God. (3) Having reached this stage, our Lord is now able to initiate them into the full truth of His mission: He 'stedfastly set His face to go to Jerusalem' to meet the death which He sees awaiting Him, and which is to be the gate through which He goes to His final triumph. Twice in this section the Passion is predicted. The suffering of the Christ is the most difficult lesson the Twelve have to learn, and they are slow to learn it. When the Crucifixion comes, they still do not understand, and are shattered with disappointment. One of them, Judas, is so resentful and embittered by what appears to be the ignominious collapse of the movement that he turns upon the Leader who has led them to this impasse, and betrays Him to the authorities. Only after the Resurrection does the tremendous paradox of the Cross, the Divine suffering for the redemption of men, become the central theme of the apostolic preaching, proclaimed with a defiant joy and confidence.

This conception of the *suffering* Messiah has proved as difficult for some modern N.T. scholars as for the Twelve. The 'thoroughgoing eschatologist' is compelled by his theory to reject this part of the synoptic tradition as unhistorical. If Jesus was no more than the mouthpiece of a crude apocalyptism, then some such view as Loisy's is inevitable: 'Jésus n'allait pas à Jérusalem pour y mourir; il y allait pour préparer et procurer, au risque de sa vie, l'avènement de Dieu' (*Les Évangiles Synoptiques*, i. 214): cf. also Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, ii. 34. Apart, however, from the seriously inadequate valuation of the historical Jesus implied in this view, it can only be maintained by an arbitrary surrender of whole masses of our documentary material, and by the assumption of such radical falsity in the synoptic Gospels that they become utterly untrustworthy. The parable of the husbandmen (Lk. $20^{9-16}$), the answer to James and John (Mk. $10^{35-40}$, Matt. $20^{20-23}$), as well as the oft-repeated prediction of the Passion and the whole tone and character of the Gospel accounts, cannot be thus lightly rejected. Already in Lk. $5^{35}$ (the bridegroom taken away) we have met with a foreboding of the end. And the ideas of suffering and service are so deeply imbedded in the recorded teaching of Jesus as a whole that His expectation of a final self-sacrifice is wholly congruous. Much the most likely view is that our Lord had meditated long, and taken to Himself, the great servant songs of the Book of Isaiah (Isa. 50 and 53), in which is described the ideal sinless servant of the Lord and his vicarious suffering and death. Here, in the grandest part of His people's scriptures, He would find a picture of an Anointed One, whose mission and moral purpose harmonized with His own, and whose glory would come through death (cf. Isa. $53^{10ff}$). It is far more intelligible that the Gospel witness to the suffering Messiah goes back to our Lord's own teaching about Himself than that it was foisted upon a wholly different historical situation by the elaborate artifice of the first Christians.

### $9^{1-6}$. *The Mission of the Twelve.*

The Mission of the Twelve is a new venture, for which the little group has been prepared by their daily contact with their Leader. Wandering missionaries, preaching all manner of philosophies or devoted to particular religious cults, were familiar figures in the Roman Empire. Our Lord's purpose in sending His apostles to preach and to heal was to extend the scope of His work.

$9^{3-5}$. Matt. $10^{5-42}$ contains many details of instructions which S. Luke keeps for the Seventy ($10^{1-11}$). S. Luke follows Mk. for the Mission of the Twelve and Q for the Mission of the Seventy. The matter common to Mk. and Q he uses for the most part in both contexts.

The prohibition of the wallet seems to mean that they were not to go about with a collecting-bag such as was used by Jewish alms-collectors. No doubt these instructions of our Lord were remembered and recorded, not only for their moral value as inculcating a self-sacrificing simplicity for His messengers, but also as a practical rule for the early missionaries of the Church in the Roman Empire. Holy poverty, based on a confident reliance on the providence of God, was a new ideal.

$9^{7-9}$. Probably the new prominence given to the movement by the sending of the Twelve attracted Herod's attention. Another dangerous fanatic had arisen, despite the fate of John the Baptist: and popular fancies worked on the tetrarch's guilty conscience and superstition.

S. Luke omits S. Mark's story of the Baptist's death. Matt. puts this section much later in the narrative (Matt. $14^{1-13}$).

$9^{10}$. Clearly the mission had been successful. On their return the missionaries are taken away, presumably for rest and quiet (cf. Mk. $6^{31}$). Only S. Luke mentions that they went to Bethsaida: the other synoptists say that they crossed the lake and went to a desert place.

### $9^{11-17}$. *The Feeding of the Five Thousand.*

This is certainly one of the most difficult miracles to accept, for those who do not hold the belief in the verbal inerrancy of the scriptures. We have seen already that control over the forces of Nature was attributed to our Lord in His human life by the first generation of Christians: He could walk on the sea and still the storm by a word. Here we have this control exercised in an even more astonishing way, the multiplication of material things by miraculous power. All four evangelists record this miracle and give it a very prominent place in the record. This emphasis on a startlingly difficult story has caused much trouble to commentators, who have tried to rationalize it in various ways, though with little success. There are three main types of explanation which have been given.

(*a*) Some accept the story as historical except for the numbers. They find the historical nucleus in some occasion when Jesus and His apostles shared their food with people in the crowd, an example which was followed by others in the crowd, so that all were fed. This hypothesis fails because, with it, there is no means of accounting for the great importance attributed to the incident in all the Gospels: it is very difficult to see how so trivial and ordinary an incident as that supposed could have been magnified into the stupendous miracle which forms the climax of our Lord's ministry to the Galilean people.

(*b*) Others see in the incident a kind of 'love-feast', a rehearsal, so to speak, of the Messianic banquet, in which all present received a fragment of food, the only error in the Gospel account being the statement that all were 'filled'. This is very fanciful and is hard to combine with the secrecy of Jesus about His Messiahship: moreover, the numbers given are too large even for this purely symbolic feeding; and there is no hint in the record of anything more than the relief of physical hunger.

(*c*) Some frankly abandon the attempt to find an historical basis and regard the story as myth, derived from the story of Elisha's miracle in 2 Kings $4^{42-44}$. There is little to be said in favour of this theory. It cuts the knot instead of unloosing it, and is a counsel of desperation. It is doubtless true that the symbolic and spiritual meaning of the story—Christ the source of spiritual strength—made it an oft-told tale in the early Church. To this extent its value as symbol explains its prominence. But it does not explain the *origin* of the story. It is far more likely that something which actually happened in our Lord's life started the story, even if we admit that the Elisha story may have influenced its development.

It is best on the whole to admit that no easy 'natural' explanation can be given, and to leave the door open for an acceptance of the story as it stands, by reflecting on the fact that, given belief in theism, there is no *a priori* objection to the miracle, and, given belief in the Incarnation, nothing irrational in the supposition that our Lord worked such a miracle.

### $9^{18-22}$. *S. Peter's Confession and the First Prediction of the Passion.*

S. Luke omits S. Mark's statement that this epoch-making event happened 'on the way' as 'Jesus went forth, and his disciples, into the villages of Caesarea Philippi' (Mk. $8^{27}$): and he characteristically adds, 'as he was praying alone'. It appears from S. Mark's account that Jesus had withdrawn from the territory of Herod Antipas, probably to seek retirement and also to avoid the danger which threatened from the tetrarch.

S. Peter's confession is the turning-point in the synoptic story, even in S. Luke's Gospel, where the 'great interpolation' (Lk. 9[51]–18[14]) to some extent masks the decisive transition of the Marcan record. From this point Jesus 'set his face to go to Jerusalem'.

The popular fancies already mentioned in connexion with Herod's alarm are reported by the apostles. It is significant that contemporary Judaism looked for a reappearance of past heroes of the faith rather than for a new prophet with an original message. S. Peter, whose position as leader is again to be noted, answers our Lord's question with what is presumably the first open avowal of his Leader's Messianic dignity. (For the idea of the Christ see Notes on 'The Kingdom of God' and 'The Suffering Messiah'.) Our Lord's injunction of secrecy is no doubt again due to the danger of popular misunderstanding and of a possible attempt to make Him the centre of a political movement. He adds to this warning the all-important modification of the Christ-idea which was central in His own mind. The triumph of God's Anointed could only be reached through suffering and death. Compare for S. Peter's confession the versions in the other synoptists: Mk. 8[29], 'Thou art the Christ'; Matt. 16[16], 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God'; and compare also the important passage, Matt. 16[17-19], which follows S. Peter's declaration.

9[23-25]. These sayings apply to the followers of Jesus, as universal moral principles for their own lives, the self-denial and self-sacrificing love manifested in His Passion. S. Luke alone adds 'daily' to the phrase 'take up his cross'. The Roman method of execution, no doubt familiar in Palestine (the saying occurs in the Palestinian document Q) is taken as the symbol of the severest suffering.

The famous paradox about saving life and losing it (cf. Lk. 17[33], Matt. 10[39], as well as the primary parallels Mk. 8[35], Matt. 16[25]) is eschatological in the first instance, and refers to the gaining of eternal life, to which this present life of the world is to be in all things made subordinate. But it also has a general moral validity, and is indeed the central truth of Christian ethics. In current terms it means that the way to 'self'-realization (the true satisfaction of the ego-instinct) is to be found in the sacrifice of the 'self' which seeks the crude satisfaction of its impulses to the higher 'self' which emerges and grows as moral and spiritual values get control. All genuine Christianity centres morally round this ascetic principle as, theologically, it centres round the Cross of Jesus Christ.

$9^{26}$. With this form of the saying (Marcan) should be compared the form in Q (Matt. $10^{33}$: cf. Lk. $12^{9}$), which is probably the earlier. The Marcan form stresses the eschatology in the familiar language of apocalypse: see Dan. $7^{13}$. The final consummation of the world-process will test moral character and reveal moral status: cf. Lk. $21^{34-36}$.

## NOTE G. THE IMMINENCE OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

In several contexts the synoptists give sayings which assert that the Kingdom of God will come in the lifetime of those who heard Christ speaking: cf. Lk. $21^{32}$ = Mk. $13^{30}$, Matt. $10^{23}$. A mass of apocalyptic literature existed which had made 'eschatological' ideas, i. e. ideas concerning the end of this present world-order and the coming of the Kingdom of God, current coin among the Jews of our Lord's time. The Gospels freely attribute to our Lord the use of apocalyptic language, and there can be little doubt that He was much influenced by it, not only in its description of the Kingdom of God and the Christ, but also in what it said about the 'Parousia', or 'appearing', of the Son of man. The extreme eschatological school of critics, e. g. Schweitzer in his great, but perverse, book, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, Johannes Weiss, Loisy, and others, have laid a much exaggerated emphasis on this element in the Gospels, to the practical exclusion of all else, and, with the usual nemesis that falls on the half-truth, have made the origins of Christianity quite unintelligible. But they have done good service in drawing attention to the important place that eschatology holds in the Gospels. And many modern scholars, who do not accept their distorted and exaggerated picture, have held that our Lord here and elsewhere is referring to His visible return in person in the near future, foreshortening the time between His Passion and the 'end of the world'.

If this interpretation is, in substance, correct, it throws important light on the limitations of our Lord's knowledge in His earthly life, since events have falsified the expectation of His speedy 'appearing', at least in the sense in which the term was used by His contemporaries and the primitive Christian community (cf. 1 Thess. $4^{13ff.}$). Such limitation might well belong to a truly historical Incarnation.

The question will be considered further when we come to the 'apocalyptic discourse' in Lk. 21. Pending that further examination of the Lucan eschatology, we may here conveniently draw attention to two important provisos which need to be constantly borne in mind.

(1) Our Lord's eschatology, whatever it was, was not the same as that found in ordinary Jewish apocalyptism. He expressly says that He does not know the day or the hour (Mk. $13^{32}$). He taught that in a real sense the Kingdom had already come with His *first* advent: cf. Lk. $11^{14-23}$, Lk. $10^{18}$. In the Gospels we have no simple distinction between the present age and a new age soon to come. Rather we have a complex situation presented to us in which the Kingdom as present and the Kingdom as future are held as a pair of mutually necessary ideas, about the second of which our Lord discourages the demand for a sign (Lk. $11^{29}$). It is in the highest degree probable that as our Lord accepted but transformed the ideas of the Kingdom and the Messiah, so he transformed, as He accepted, the idea of a future consummation of God's purpose and His own part in a final decision in the age-long conflict of good and evil in human affairs.

(2) The nature of prophetic vision should be carefully distinguished. 'Prophetic vision needs to be sharply distinguished from prediction or detailed soothsaying. Not improbably to our Lord's own human consciousness the vision even of the ultimate future (though He is represented as explicitly disclaiming precise knowledge of the day or the hour) presented itself as the vision of something which was, or which might be, at hand. Beyond His own sufferings . . . He descried with the prophetic intuition of faith the mysterious coming of the Son of man . . .; descried it, it may be, as already within the horizon of the existing generation, so that some of those still alive might yet witness the great Day. This was certainly the prevalent view in the earliest Christian Church (cf. 1 Thess. iv. 13 sqq.; 1 Cor. xv. 51 sqq.), and it is in accordance with what appears to have been a constant characteristic of the psychology of prophecy in general. There is a real element of truth in the old-fashioned phrase about the prophetic "foreshortening of the future". The Kingdom of God is at hand —and the prophet's faith projects it upon the canvas of his vision in such a way that it appears to be already imminent and dominates his outlook. Certitude assumes the psychological form of a sense of immediacy' (Rawlinson, *Westminster Commentary on St. Mark*, p. 180).

If this psychological interpretation of our Lord's human outlook upon the future as akin to that of the O.T. prophets is here in place, there need be no difficulty in accepting it, throwing as it does valuable light on our Lord's humanity and the meaning of the Incarnation.

But, if we may assume that S. Luke has got the context of the saying in $9^{27}$ right, it ought not to be taken as quite certain that it refers to the 'second coming' of Christ. Eschatological ideas have had a great vogue in recent criticism, and there is an unjustifiable tendency not only to minimize the changes introduced by our Lord into the current apocalyptic, but also to let that current apocalyptic explain all allusions in the Gospels to that group of ideas which centres round the Kingdom of God. Some of the older explanations of this passage still merit consideration, and in particular the ancient view, held by the majority of the Fathers, that the reference is to the Transfiguration, closely connected as it is by the evangelists with this prediction; or, again, the establishment of the Church after the Resurrection and the events of Pentecost may be referred to. To 'see the Kingdom of God' (even with Mk.'s addition 'come with glory'), when the phrase is taken in the light of our Lord's teaching that in a sense the Kingdom has already come, may very well mean in this passage to 'have clear and convincing signs of its presence', such as, for instance, the vision of the destined glory of Christ vouchsafed to the three apostles on the mountain of the Transfiguration, or, again, the triumph of Christ in the Resurrection and the gift of the Holy Spirit, the baptism of the Church, at Pentecost. Then the two verses 26 and 27 might be given an extended paraphrase, thus: 'those who are ashamed of me now will be put to shame when the final consummation of God's purpose for this earth reveals the moral condition of every man: but before that day comes, be sure that there are some here who shall live to see convincing proofs of the present actuality of that Divine Rule which will reach its final perfection only at the end of the world.'

It should be observed that a similar saying appears in a different context in Lk. $21^{32}$ (=Mk. $13^{30}$) where see the note.

## $9^{28-36}$. NOTE H. THE TRANSFIGURATION (Mk. $9^{2-8}$, Matt. $17^{1-8}$)

There is no reason to follow Wellhausen, Loisy, and others, in supposing that the story of the Transfiguration is based on some post-resurrection appearance of Christ, antedated to bring out the significance of S. Peter's confession. Such speculation is quite arbitrary, when the incident is in place in its context, understood as a mystical experience, as S. Luke rightly hints when he says that Jesus went up into the mountain *to pray*—a touch which occurs only in this gospel. In the nature of things we cannot penetrate far into the religious experience of our Lord's humanity, or assess with any scientific precision the objective nature of the strange sight which the three apostles saw as they watched their Master rapt in prayer. But the story is presented to the reader from the point of view of the three onlookers, and the psychological study of ecstatic states provides material for understanding their experience as distinct from that of our Lord. Visions and auditions are common in the history of mystical religion, and, as the mystics have themselves often said, they are of very varying worth. They may be the means of genuine spiritual communications or they may be delusions. The *form* of such revelations is not the standard of their value, but the moral and spiritual value of the experience. In this case we have, it seems, the same characteristic features as in other mystical experiences, whether veridical or not. The visual imagery is supplied by the percipients' minds, and they project spiritual apprehensions in picture-shapes, so that they seem to see in physical, spatial form what is essentially spiritual and extra-spatial.

There are consequently three separate points for consideration: (1) What happened to our Lord? (2) What was the psychological experience of the onlookers? (3) Was that experience a means of conveying new truth to them, or impressing upon them truth they already possessed?

(1) As we have already said, we cannot get far in the attempt to comprehend the inner life of our Lord in His intimate dealings with His Father. We may, however, note that there are several recorded observations of a luminous glow transfiguring the faces of saints in prayer (see Evelyn Underhill, *The Mystic Way*, pp. 114 sqq.). Our Lord has gone up into the mountain to pray. It was a critical time in His earthly life. A week before He had

been acknowledged by His followers as the Christ: He was on the point of turning southward for the final adventure. At such a supreme moment, with His unique nature, in its perfection of spiritual activity, wholly concentrated on God, we may suppose that the supernatural dominated His human psycho-physical organism in some (to us) strange and inexplicable fashion, which His apostles perceived with an awe that was heightened by the grandeur of their mountain surroundings. (For this supernatural awe awakened by our Lord's near presence cf. Mk. $10^{32}$, Lk. $5^{8,9}$.) Beyond this it is not profitable to speculate: the impression left on the apostles is indicated by the synoptists' phrases—'he was transfigured', 'his garments became glistering, exceeding white', 'his face did shine as the sun'.

(2) The attitude of mind in the three apostles must have been dominated by the recent events near Caesarea Philippi. They were the followers of the Christ of God: their prophet was no other than God's Son. The mystery which had always been about Him had been heightened by their full realization of this truth and by the strange communication He had made to them about His coming Passion. In the solemn stillness of the mountain, remote from the usual crowds and the everyday circumstances of their work, they stop while He prays. They were emotionally in a state of high tension, and some imaginative release of the tension was naturally to be expected. The form it took was that of vision. The Christ is the fulfilment of their hopes as religious Jews. The Law and the Prophets have all been directed to this end. So they (or was it S. Peter only?) see the two figures who symbolize for them the fundamentals of their religious past grouped with the now central Christ. The imaginative material is projected outwards by their unusual emotional exaltation. This tension is clearly indicated in the story, e. g. in S. Peter's blundering words, as he spoke, 'not knowing what he said', and in the curious statement that they had been 'heavy with sleep', very likely in the semi-hypnotic condition which is peculiarly sensitive to suggestion. The audition which follows the vision is again entirely congruous both with their external circumstances at the time and with their psychological state, dominated as it was by their new grasp of the Messianic dignity of their Master.

(3) Such a psychological account as has just been sketched leaves the question of the truth of the vision still open. As with all similar abnormal experiences, we cannot find the test of its

value within the experience itself. Authorities on mystical experience concur in the need to discriminate between visions by other tests. Thus S. Bonaventura says that visions 'neither make nor reveal the saint: otherwise Balaam would have been a saint, and the ass which saw the angel'. Richard of S. Victor says, 'as Christ attested His transfiguration by the presence of Moses and Elias, so visions should not be believed unless they have the authority of scripture'. The Spanish mystic Avila says that only those visions which minister to our spiritual necessities, and make us more humble, are genuine. A modern authority on mysticism, Miss Evelyn Underhill, has stressed the *vocational* character of all genuine mystical experience, with its classical example in Isaiah, whose vision was the preliminary to his prophetic mission. The genuineness of the apostles' experience on the mount of Transfiguration is approved, not by the fact that they had such an experience, but by the fact that their master *was* the Christ and *did* fulfil the Law and the Prophets. The vision served, in the divine Providence, to impress upon them these truths, and to encourage and assure them in what they were still to find—as later events showed—an intensely difficult conviction.

$9^{28}$. *eight days.* 'Six days' in Mk. and Matt. The exact dating is curious, and may go back to the vivid recollection in S. Peter's mind of the close of the week which had opened with his confession of the Christ.

$9^{28}$. *the mountain.* Tabor and Hermon have both been suggested, but the matter is of little consequence. Tradition in the Eastern Church has given the name of *τὸ θαβώριον* to the Feast of the Transfiguration (6 August): but Hermon is the more likely. Dr. Masterman (in Peake's *Commentary*, p. 29) says Tabor is impossible since it was a thickly inhabited semi-fortified site.

$9^{31}$. *decease. ἔξοδος.* S. Luke uses the corresponding word *εἴσοδος* in Acts $13^{24}$ of our Lord's 'coming'. There may be a conscious reminiscence of the 'Exodus' of the Jews and their Passover, types of Christ's departure and sacrificial death. Only S. Luke says that the subject of the conversation was the Passion.

$9^{32}$. *fully awake* (*διαγρηγορήσαντες*). Better as the R.V. margin, 'having remained awake'. Their condition seems to have been the half-waking state which has been found to be most suggestible.

$9^{33}$. The passing of Moses and Elijah from the vision probably signifies their supersession by Christ. 'The remark of S. Peter is precisely the kind of remark—half-related to the supposed situation, semi-reasonable, and yet fundamentally foolish—which might be made by a man in a dream or in the strange, half-hypnotic condition in which men see visions (and hear voices)' (Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 118). Rawlinson points out that this verse is evidence for the historicity of the Transfiguration. The tabernacles were presumably to shelter the distinguished visitors and the Christ.

$9^{34}$. The cloud is for S. Luke the 'Shechinah', which symbolizes the divine glory. Of course it may have been an entirely natural passage of a cloud on the mountain.

### $9^{37-43}$. *Healing of an Epileptic Boy.*

Comparison with the Marcan version of this story seems to make it probable that S. Luke was acquainted with another version as well as S. Mark's. However, he seems to have used the Marcan version as his framework, as he did with the Transfiguration story, where again another version may also have been before him. The Matthaean parallel should be compared with the Lucan and both with Mk.

The case is one of epilepsy, as is clear from the description. Our Lord's exclamation is no doubt wrung from Him by weariness, but it is also coloured by the expectation of the end which hangs over all this part of the story. The 'faithless and perverse generation' is not the disciples only, but the unbelieving world generally.

### $9^{43-45}$. *Second Prediction of the Passion.*

Here again there are variants from the Marcan source which suggest the possibility of a second written document: compare especially the non-Marcan and strongly Semitic phrases, 'Let these words sink into your ears' and 'it was concealed from them, that they should not perceive it'.

The failure of the disciples to understand was not mentioned in connexion with the first warning of the Passion. The paradox of a triumphant Messiah dying an outcast's death was a hard saying. The disciples' fear may have been due partly to perplexity and a not unnatural shrinking from revealing their inability to understand, partly to that awe which has already been noticed in their relations with their Leader.

### $9^{46-48}$. *The True Greatness.*

The failure to understand their Master's teaching about the Son of man's suffering and death is accompanied by failure to understand the Kingdom and their position in it. The disciples are led on to a wrangle among themselves about their own relative dignity in the Kingdom as they conceived it (Matt. $18^{1}$ rightly adds 'in the Kingdom of heaven'). Their false idea of greatness is corrected by our Lord, who tells them that humility and service of others is the true greatness, not the pomp and circumstance of rank.

This appears to be the meaning of this passage as it stands, but comparison with the parallels (Mk. $9^{33-37}$, Matt. $18^{1-5}$) shows that the arrangement of the material is S. Luke's own. The Gospels contain frequent references to our Lord's teaching about humility and greatness in various contexts (cf. Mk. $10^{43-44}$, Lk. $18^{14}$, $18^{17}$, $22^{26}$, Matt. $20^{26-27}$, $23^{11-12}$), and the connexion between episode and saying, or saying and saying, must be in some cases the work of the evangelist. Some such editorial arrangement has been made in this passage. S. Mark represents our Lord as correcting the wrong idea with the saying 'if any man would be first, he shall be last of all, and minister of all': then follows what is apparently a disconnected saying from another context, in which our Lord, taking a little child, teaches that kindness to the weak and apparently insignificant is service of Christ and God. S. Luke found these two sayings in Mk. with little more than a verbal connexion between them, and conflated them. The little child is now not only the symbol of the weak, but of the humble, as in Mk. $10^{15}$, Lk. $18^{17}$; and the lessons which are taught separately elsewhere are here combined, with some slight obscurity. Thus the passage primarily means that the service of the weak in Christ's name is the true humility, but with this is the idea that the little child is the model of humility. Matt. has arranged the material in the same sense as Lk., but brings out more clearly that the child is the pattern of humility (Matt. $18^{3,4}$), making this the primary idea. Lk. therefore occupies an intermediate position between the Marcan and the Matthaean versions of our Lord's treatment of the disciples' ideas on this occasion.

Rawlinson refers to the very similar saying in Lk. $10^{16}$ (Matt. $10^{40-42}$) and suggests that 'this saying, or something like it, stood in "Q" as the conclusion of the "missionary" discourse, and that the original meaning was that the missionaries of the Gospel were to be received as Jesus Himself, for they were sent by Him, as He was sent by God'.

$9^{49-50}$. S. Luke follows his Marcan source and adds this episode of the exorcist who was not a disciple, though the connexion of thought between this passage and what preceded it is not at all clear. Probably again we have a detached piece of the tradition, the link being the words 'in my name' (v. 48) and 'in thy name' (v. 49). There is no reason why this saying and the complementary saying recorded in Lk. $11^{23}$ should not both be authentic in their different contexts.

## THE CENTRAL SECTION ($9^{51}$–$18^{14}$)

Following Streeter, we may call this part of the Gospel by the non-committal title of the 'Central Section', rather than by the hitherto usual name of the 'great interpolation', which implies the theory that Mk., rather than Q and L (Proto-Luke), was the primary source used by S. Luke and provided the framework into which he inserted his other material. The section is nearly one-third of the Gospel in length (350 verses), and is composed of material partly derived from Q and partly peculiar to S. Luke (L). A large part of the special interest of the third Gospel lies in the L material incorporated in this section. The whole section is mainly composed of our Lord's discourses, strung together on a slender thread of narrative, and contains no less than thirteen parables which are found only here in the Gospels. The earlier part is composed of Q material with additions from L, but towards the middle the L material begins to predominate. As always, S. Luke has welded together his sources with great literary power, and it is not possible to attain certainty in the discrimination of them in precise detail. In the analysis which follows, the indication of sources must be taken only as a rough guide.

The section is very loosely constructed. What framework there is is supplied by an occasional reminder that Jesus was on His way to Jerusalem. Thus the section begins with the solemn statement, 'And it came to pass, when the days were wellnigh come that he should be received up, he stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem'; and this is echoed in $9^{57}$ 'as they went in the way', $10^{38}$ 'as they went on their way', $13^{22}$ 'and he went on his way through cities and villages, teaching, and journeying on unto Jerusalem', $17^{11}$ 'and it came to pass, as they were on the way to Jerusalem, that he was passing through the midst of Samaria and Galilee'. These references to the journey have led some scholars to call this section 'the travel document', but the title is misleading, as Streeter points out (*Four Gospels*, p. 203), since it implies that this section once existed as a separate document. Nor are we to suppose that all the material assigned by S. Luke to this part of his work necessarily belongs, in the chronological order, to our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem: thus, to take the most obvious example, S. Luke here uses part of what Matt. puts into the Sermon on the Mount. Though probably Lk. preserves the order of Q better than Matt. (Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 273–5), it is a precarious assumption that Q, mainly a collection of discourses, arranged them in the chronological order of utterance or assigned them to definite parts of the Lord's ministry. Over large parts of these chapters the notes of time are of the vaguest—'In the mean time' ($12^{1}$), 'And Peter said' ($12^{41}$), 'And he was teaching in one of the synagogues' ($13^{10}$), are characteristic transition-phrases from one paragraph to another. Sometimes, where the original context seems to have been lost, there is some obscurity about the meaning: see the notes on the later part of ch. 11. In the analysis the main divisions have been made according to the *literary* units which can be discerned in the structure. I have constructed the analysis on the basis of Dr. Vincent Taylor's scheme as given in *Behind the Third Gospel*, pp. 153 ff. S. Luke arranges his material mainly with a religious purpose, not with an eye to chronological sequence, and therefore similarity of subject-matter is what mainly determines the order.

I. *Setting Out for Jerusalem*: *Mission of the Seventy* ($9^{51}$–$10^{24}$).
  (*a*) The Samaritan Village (L): $9^{51-56}$.
  (*b*) Would-be Disciples (Q and L): $9^{57-62}$.
  (*c*) Mission of the Seventy (Q and L): $10^{1-12}$.
  (*d*) Woe to Unbelieving Cities (Q): $10^{13-16}$.
  (*e*) Return of the Seventy (L): $10^{17-20}$.
  (*f*) The Rejoicing of Jesus (Q): $10^{21-24}$.

The section opens with arresting solemnity in a sentence of strongly Hebraic character, and after describing an incident at the beginning of the journey through Samaria tells of certain candidates for discipleship, and then proceeds to the main theme, the Mission of the Seventy. The historicity of this mission has been doubted. S. Luke has already used Mk. for the Mission of the Twelve, and he now follows Q for the Mission of the Seventy; and it has been suggested that this is a 'doublet', due to the traditional Jewish division of mankind into the twelve tribes of

Israel and the seventy Gentile nations. It is supposed that S. Luke's 'universalism' led him to double the mission, so as to provide a symbolic precedent in our Lord's life for the Gentile mission of the Church. Doubtless S. Luke would welcome every hint in the tradition which pointed to the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Christian Church, and this may account for his being the only evangelist to record the Mission of the Seventy. But he gives no indication that he intends any allegory, and the number 70 would convey nothing to his readers. It is quite unnecessary scepticism to suppose that he invented this story; and that his source contained such an invention is still more improbable. (1) There is no hint in the story that the Seventy were sent to any but Jews and perhaps the half-Jewish Samaritans (cf. $10^1$). (2) The source-analysis of the Gospel shows much editorial arrangement of material, but gives no ground for supposing that the author deliberately fabricated whole episodes. (3) There is no inherent improbability in the idea that our Lord dispatched others than the Twelve to spread the movement; and we are not bound to hold that the Seventy were all sent out at one time, or again that the number 70 is more than an approximate round number. (4) It is probable that the early tradition that Joseph Barsabbas and Matthias (Acts $1^{23}$) were of the Seventy is correct (cf. Plummer, p. 271; Hawkins, *Oxford Studies*, p. 57). The tradition that S. Luke himself was one of the Seventy is very improbable, since it conflicts with his own statement in Lk. $1^2$: but it is likely that among the 'eyewitnesses and ministers of the word' mentioned in that passage was a disciple—possibly Philip the Evangelist, whom S. Luke knew well (Acts $21^{8-10}$)—who had been one of the Seventy and communicated to S. Luke much of the special matter incorporated in this part of the Gospel. It is significant that the conversion of Samaria by Philip is recorded by S. Luke in Acts 8.

### $9^{51-56}$. *The Samaritan Village.*

The Samaritans were a mixed people, partly of Hebrew stock, partly of foreign blood, the country having been repeopled by compulsory immigration when the Assyrians destroyed the northern kingdom and 'decanted' most of its inhabitants. The hostility between Jews and Samaritans goes back to the days of Ezra and Nehemiah and the beginning of the post-exilic period of Jewish history. The Samaritans worshipped Yahweh and had their own temple on Mount Gerizim: they received the Pentateuch, but no other book of the Jewish scriptures. They were regarded as alien schismatics by the Jews, who avoided their country and detested their race.

Our Lord's dispatch of messengers before Him seems to have been a new feature in His procedure. Possibly it was a precaution against expected hostility on the part of the Samaritans, who heartily reciprocated the Jewish antipathy. A pilgrim to the rival sanctuary at Jerusalem would be particularly unwelcome. Pilgrims generally went through Peraea, east of Jordan.

The 'sons of Thunder', James and John (Mk. $3^{17}$), presumably got their name from such temperamental violence as is here revealed. The 'fire from heaven' was no doubt suggested to them by the story of Elijah in 2 Kings 1. See the A.V. here, which contains an early gloss on the text, bringing out admirably the point of our Lord's rebuke. This is one of the most revealing passages in the Gospels for the difference between the O.T. and N.T. conceptions of God.

### $9^{57-62}$. *Would-be Disciples.*

Hawkins (*Oxford Studies*, p. 57) suggests that this passage may 'refer to a sifting of disciples preparatory to this appointment of so many of them to "preach the Kingdom of God"'. In any case, S. Luke has assembled here three incidents from his sources which seemed to be appropriate to this context. Matt. $8^{18-22}$ puts the first two incidents early in the Galilean ministry, and says that the first-mentioned candidate was a scribe. The third incident is peculiar to S. Luke: he also represents our Lord as taking the initiative with the second man.

All three passages have the same purport—that there are matters of urgent importance which demand sacrifice of things in themselves good, in these particular cases the comforts or the duties of home. Some commentators adopt an apologetic attitude in dealing with this group of stories, and labour to explain away the 'harshness'. Such efforts seem based on an unwillingness to admit the ineradicable fact of an ascetic sternness in our Lord's demands of men, or at least of some men. It is valuable testimony to S. Luke's faithful use of his sources that, with all his marked sympathy and tenderness, he does not omit this sterner element, which is beyond a doubt true to the historical Jesus. The Gospels make it quite clear that our Lord combined in a perfect unity an exquisite gentleness and a heroic asceticism. And it is a marked characteristic of many of the greatest of His followers that they have sought to imitate Him in just this difficult and costly reconciliation of apparent opposites: cf. the *Lausiac History* of Palladius for the lives of S. Anthony and the Egyptian monks, or the lives of S. Benedict and S. Francis of Assisi, among a multitude of instances.

For other instances of this exacting demand for renunciation cf. Lk. $9^{23-24}$, $12^{49-53}$, $14^{25-34}$, $18^{22}$; Matt. $5^{29-30}$: the whole Gospel witnesses to the other complementary element of loving tenderness, but compare especially Lk. 15.

$9^{58}$. *to lay his head* (ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνῃ). As Lagrange points out, the words reappear in John $19^{30}$ of our Lord laying his head on the Cross (κλίνας τὴν κεφαλήν).

$9^{60}$. *leave the dead to bury their own dead.* An obscure saying, probably a current proverb adapted. It is not clear whether the man called by our Lord meant that his father was already lying dead or whether he meant 'I cannot leave home while my father is alive: wait till I am free from my duty to him'. Our Lord's answer may mean 'Leave the spiritually dead (i.e. those not called to the new life of a disciple) to bury the physically dead: there is more urgent work for you'.

$9^{62}$. The ploughman's need of concentration on his task is proverbial in many languages. 'Fit (εὔθετος) for the Kingdom' means 'fit to work for it'.

### $10^{1-12}$. *The Mission of the Seventy.*

The manuscripts vary between seventy and seventy-two for the number sent out. The instructions given are practically the same as those given to the Twelve (Lk. $9^{1-5}$), but the Q version here followed is longer than that in Mk. There may be here some later amplification of our Lord's instructions, in the interest of the Church's missionary work.

$10^{3}$. *as lambs in the midst of wolves*: i.e. the mission may mean danger. Some think the verse reflects rather the subsequent experience of the Church than authentic records of Christ.

$10^{4}$. *salute no man*: they must make haste and not waste time in elaborate greetings and gossip with those they pass on the road.

$10^{6}$. *a son of peace*: i.e. a man worthy of your salutation.

$10^{9}$. Cf. $9^{1}$.

$10^{11}$. *the kingdom of God is come nigh.* An important passage, as showing that in our Lord's mind the Kingdom was already in part a present reality. See the note on the Kingdom of God. The full consummation of the Kingdom is not yet (cf. verse 12, 'in that day', i. e. the day of the final judgement when God's rule will be fully established), but its first stage is already here with the coming of the Christ.

$10^{13-16}$. *Woe to Unbelieving Cities.*

Tyre and Sidon, like Sodom, are for the O.T. prophets classical types of cities that merit the divine wrath: cf. Amos $1^{9-10}$, Isa. 23, Jer. $25^{22}$, Ezek. 26–28, and Gen. $19^{24}$. Chorazin is mentioned only here and in the Matthaean parallel (Matt. $11^{21}$): it may be identified with the modern Kerazeh, near Tell Hum, which is generally counted the site of Capernaum.

This lament of our Lord over the faithless cities has been doubted by some critics, on the ground that the cities of Galilee had not rejected Him, but rather the multitudes had flocked to Him. But there can be little doubt that He was disappointed with the response. Herod and the religious authorities between them had made life in Galilee dangerous for Him, and the people had sought the miracle-worker rather than the spiritual Teacher and the true Messiah. Also, the shadow of the Cross lies upon Him. It is a tragic moment at which He leaves Galilee, and His sense of its tragedy may well have found expression in this sombre, dirge-like utterance.

$10^{17-20}$. *Return of the Seventy.*

Again the present reality of the Kingdom of God is made unmistakably clear. The missionaries return and report, with a rather naïve elation, the most startling evidence of their success: they have even been able to drive out demons in the name of Jesus. Our Lord assents in a vivid phrase: 'I beheld Satan fall as lightning from heaven.' The power of evil, hitherto in the ascendant, has been overthrown by the Messiah, whose reign has begun. Of this the success of Christ's representatives is evidence. Yet it is not in their authority as His representatives, their ability to vanquish spiritual evil, that they should rejoice, as much as in their citizenship in the new Kingdom which has been established. The distinction here made is in line with the fundamentally moral requirements of our Lord for His followers. We may compare S. Paul's 'more excellent way' (1 Cor. $12^{31}$)—charity, as compared with the spectacular 'speaking with tongues'.

$10^{19}$. *serpents and scorpions*: metaphorical, as is shown by the inclusive phrase which follows, 'all the power of the enemy'.

$10^{21\text{-}24}$. *The Rejoicing of Jesus* (cf. Matt. $11^{25\text{-}27}$).

This very striking passage is one of the closest links between the synoptic and the Johannine portraits of our Lord. Its affinities to the fourth Gospel are obvious, and yet it comes to us embedded in the early Palestinian document Q, probably the earliest of the evangelical sources: cf. John $3^{35}$, 'the Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand'; $6^{46}$, 'not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is from God, he hath seen the Father'; and also $8^{19}$, $10^{15,30}$, $14^{9}$, $16^{15}$, $17^{6,10}$. An advanced Christology is implied, and it goes back to the earliest years of the Church's life. The supernatural Christ is more fully and explicitly set before the reader in the fourth Gospel, but our earliest sources, Q and Mk., bear quite plain testimony to the fact that the specifically Christian attitude to Jesus goes back to His original followers, and is ultimately to be traced to the Lord's own knowledge of Himself.

Much discussion of this 'thunderbolt from the Johannine sky' has arisen in recent years, especially since the appearance (in 1913) of Norden's *Agnostos Theos*, where an attempt was made to fit the fuller Matthaean version (assumed to be that in Q) into a threefold form said to be traditional in the 'mystical-theosophical literature of the East'; the other instances quoted being the end of the Poimandres document in the Hermetic collection and Ecclesiasticus 51. This traditional scheme is supposed to be (*a*) a revelation of a 'mystery', (*b*) a thanksgiving for the knowledge (gnosis) of God thus obtained, (*c*) an appeal to men to accept the revelation and learn the true 'gnosis'. Apart, however, from the fact that no 'mystical-theosophical literature' is needed to account for a very natural sequence of human thought, the supposed parallels are not sufficient to establish any common origin: and it is arbitrary to call in the much overworked 'mystery religions' to explain phraseology which is fully accounted for in the O.T., where the 'knowledge' of God and God's 'knowledge' of Israel are prominent ideas of the prophetic theology (cf. Jeremiah $31^{34}$; Hosea $4^{1}$, $6^{6}$; Amos $3^{2}$; Deut. $34^{10}$). Nor will S. Luke's version (which omits Matt. $11^{28\text{-}30}$) fit the scheme; and it is highly precarious to assume that he found the Matthaean form standing in Q and omitted the great invitation.

Harnack (*Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 272 ff.) would omit the words referring to the Father's knowledge of the Son. This clause is omitted by one cursive manuscript of the old Latin version (Codex

Vercellensis), which Harnack believes has kept the true reading. But his argument that this supposed original form of the text can be inferred from the variants in patristic quotations of the passage is quite inconclusive and has failed to convince scholars. Easton, on the other hand, doubts the clause referring to the Son's knowledge of the Father, because 'it enunciates the basic principle of the mystery-religions that the true knowledge of God is hidden and is conveyed only to a chosen few by a Divine mediator, and this principle is most difficult to reconcile with the other teaching of Christ'. Against this view we may set the rhythmic structure of the passage which requires both clauses; but there is a more radical objection. Why should it be supposed that our Lord did not regard Himself as revealing a new knowledge to His followers, the 'little flock' which was to inherit the Kingdom? His profound reconstruction of the ideas of the Kingdom and the Messiah, His conviction of His own unique place in the fulfilment of the Divine purpose, even His conflict with the contemporary Judaism of Pharisees and Sadducees, show that He came as a messenger with something new to tell. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt that He more and more concentrated His full teaching upon the small group of His immediate followers.

Rawlinson (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 263) doubts the authenticity of the saying on the ground that 'it does not appear to have influenced the very earliest Christology of the Church, and the saying stands isolated in Q'. But it must have been recorded in Q because it was accepted very early as a genuine saying of Jesus. And are we justified in requiring that the 'very earliest Christology' should give due weight to all the recorded sayings, including one of such high mystery as this? Is it not likely that a mind such as that of the fourth evangelist and a spiritual experience such as his were needed before a saying like this could get its proper appreciation?

A full account of recent criticism will be found in Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Appended Note IV: see also McNeile, *Gospel according to St. Matthew, ad loc.*

10²¹. *in the Holy Spirit.* Our Lord's exultation was divinely inspired. The 'wise and understanding' probably refers to the religious leaders, especially in the Galilean cities, the 'babes' being the simple, unlearned followers of the rejected Christ. Adeney (*Century Bible, Saint Luke*, p. 176) points out that the Hebraistic idiom used here means '*although* thou didst hide'. Plummer, on the other hand, says: 'that God has proved His independence of human intellect is a matter for thankfulness', making the thanksgiving refer equally to both verbs, 'hide' as well as 'reveal'. But we are not to suppose that our Lord regarded wisdom and understanding as in themselves to be rejected. The 'wise and understanding' here are wise only in their own conceit.

$10^{22}$. The most 'Johannine' sentence in the synoptists: see the references to the fourth Gospel given above. Matt. adds to this the great invitation 'Come unto me . . .' (Matt. $11^{28-30}$).

$10^{23-24}$. The coming of the Christ and His Kingdom is what the disciples are privileged to see.

II. *The Parable of the Good Samaritan: Martha and Mary* ($10^{25-42}$).

(*a*) The Lawyer's Question (Q): $10^{25-28}$.
(*b*) Parable of the Good Samaritan (L): $10^{29-37}$.
(*c*) Visit to Martha and Mary (L): $10^{38-42}$.

This division centres round the Parable of the Good Samaritan: the lawyer's question leads up to it, and the visit to the two sisters makes the narrative-transition to the next part.

$10^{25-28}$. This passage should be compared with Mk. $12^{28-34}$, probably a variant of the same story, though we cannot be certain that the same problem did not crop up more than once in our Lord's dealings with the Jewish teachers of the Law: the occasion and the form of the question are both different. Cf. also Matt. $22^{34-40}$. Though the lawyer asks 'What shall I do to inherit eternal life?' the gist of his inquiry, as immediately appears, is the same as in the other synoptists—what is the greatest commandment? Dr. Abrahams (in *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, i. 18 ff.) shows that the question of the greatest commandment was one of moment to the Jewish theologians, as it was feared by some of them that to distinguish between the 'weightier matters' of the Law and the rest would tend to make the lesser matters seem negligible. Hence probably the lawyer's question was intended to elicit our Lord's view on this theological problem. We know that our Lord emphatically taught that there *are* 'weightier matters of the law', and this may perhaps account for the Marcan form of the story, in which our Lord Himself combines the two O.T. passages (Deut. $6^4$ and Lev. $19^{18}$) as a summary of the whole duty of man. He was probably not the first to do so, and the Lucan version may be the more historically accurate.

In the pre-Christian apocalyptic literature we find the combination already made: see the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, Test. Dan.* $5^3$, *Test. Issachar* $5^2$, $7^6$. The contemporary Philo also has it. The Jewish phylactery contained the 'Shema', which was composed of Deut. $6^{4-9}$, $11^{13-21}$, Num. $15^{37-41}$, but included nothing about love of neighbour.

The incalculable importance of our Lord's sanction of this summary of religion hardly needs emphasis. Neither cultus alone nor philanthropy alone is synonymous with religion. Both love of God and love of neighbour must exist together in true religion. See below the note on $10^{38-42}$.

$10^{25}$. *Master*: i. e. teacher (διδάσκαλε). Cf. Lk. $18^{18}$ for the question.

$10^{29}$. Bengel's dry comment deserves quotation: 'qui multa interrogant non multa facere gestiunt'.

$10^{29-37}$. *The Parable of the Good Samaritan.*

Montefiore says of this parable, 'The parable is one of the simplest and noblest of all. Love, it tells us, must know no limits of race and ask no inquiry. Who needs me is my neighbour. Nowhere in O.T. is this doctrine so exquisitely and dramatically taught'. The characteristic features of S. Luke's style are well marked. It is possible that the placing of the story in this context may be his. Loisy points out that apart from the context the story would have a different moral, that 'a charitable Samaritan is worth more than a priest without charity'. The inclusion of a Samaritan as the hero, while primarily intended for the prim Jewish lawyer, may also have been indirectly for the benefit of the sons of Zebedee, whose intolerant narrowness has already needed rebuke.

$10^{30}$. *from Jerusalem to Jericho.* A desolate mountain road running in places through deep gorges in whose side were many robber-haunted caves. In the fifteen miles from the high Judaean uplands to the Jordan plain the road descends nearly 4,000 feet.

$10^{31}$. Probably the priest thought the man was dead, and passed by to avoid ceremonial defilement.

$10^{34}$. *oil and wine.* A medical detail which comes naturally from S. Luke's pen. Hobart (*Medical Language*, p. 28) quotes ancient medical writers to show that wine and oil were usual remedies for dressing wounds. There are the ruins of an ancient khan about half-way down the road: this may have been the inn our Lord was thinking of.

$10^{35}$. *two pence* (δύο δηνάρια). Two denarii would have a face value of about 2*s*., but much greater purchasing power.

$10^{36}$. The original question was 'Who is my neighbour?' The question answered is 'Whose neighbour am I?' which gives a directly practical form to what began as a question of moral theory. See the chapter on this parable in Trench, *Notes on the Parables*.

### $10^{38-42}$. *Visit to Martha and Mary.*

This episode is skilfully introduced here to complete this part, since it illustrates the other factor in religion besides that practical philanthropy taught in the parable of the Good Samaritan. Indeed, this passage ($10^{25-42}$), which we have numbered Part II of the Central Section, provides an exquisitely beautiful treatise in miniature on the nature of true religion. Mary, contemplating our Lord, and the Samaritan, engaged in works of mercy, are concrete examples of the twofold rhythm of the religious life, in which the love of God and the love of neighbour must ever be united. Martha, the busy 'practical' woman, is not rebuked by our Lord for her practical service, but for that fussiness and worry which are the common Nemesis of a life starved on the contemplative side and wholly occupied in the details of 'getting things done'.

$10^{38}$. *a certain village*. From John 11 it appears that this was Bethany, near the Mount of Olives. There can be little doubt that the two sisters are those referred to in the fourth Gospel as living at Bethany with a brother Lazarus. Perhaps S. Luke was ignorant of the name of the village. Commentators have exercised their ingenuity in fitting the story of our Lord's anointing by Mary given in John 11 to the similar story of an anointing in the house of Simon the leper (Mk. $14^{3}$, Matt. $26^{6}$: cf. Lk. $7^{36-50}$, and notes *ad loc.*), and have guessed that Martha was the wife or elder daughter of Simon the leper. The absence of any mention of Simon in this passage they account for by the fact that, as a leper, he would be separated from ordinary social life.

$10^{39}$. *at the Lord's feet*: i.e. as a disciple listening to a teacher.

$10^{42}$. See the R.V. margin 'few or one' which has the balance of manuscript authority. Martha need not trouble to provide many dishes for the meal: one is enough. Indeed, Mary has chosen the good 'portion' (there seems to be a play on the word here: *μέρις*, translated 'part', also means a 'portion' of food); for in coming to Jesus to listen to Him she has done a good thing, and the benefit of

On the road from Jerusalem to Jericho

it shall not be taken from her. Our Lord defends Mary without condemning Martha, though He gently chides her fretfulness and fault-finding.

III. *On Prayer* ($11^{1-13}$: cf. Matt. $6^{9-13}$, $7^{7-11}$).

(*a*) The Lord's Prayer (L and Q): $11^{1-4}$.
(*b*) Parable of the Friend at Midnight (L): $11^{5-8}$.
(*c*) Teaching about Prayer (Q): $11^{9-13}$.

This passage is of the greatest importance for the fundamental religious activity of prayer. S. Luke collects here (more appropriately than Matt.) material with which he composes what may be called a little devotional classic unsurpassed in the literature of religion. His interest in prayer is shown by his many references to it in the Gospel: add to this passage $1^{10}$ (the multitude before the Temple), $2^{37}$ (Anna) $3^{21}$, $6^{12}$, $9^{18,29}$, $10^{21}$, $22^{32}$, $23^{34}$ (our Lord's prayers). Apart from the model of prayer given, the two points chiefly emphasized are importunity and faith in God, both primarily in relation to petitionary prayer. In the model prayer the complementary factor of adoration precedes that of petition. For the immense literature on the Lord's Prayer see *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*: two admirable practical treatises are Père Grou, S.J., *L'École de Jésus Christ*, and Dr. Gore, *Prayer and the Lord's Prayer*.

$11^{1-4}$. *The Lord's Prayer.*

S. Luke gives what is probably an earlier form of the prayer, the version in Matt. being an amplified form used for liturgical purposes in the primitive Church. For convenience of reference the two forms are printed here in parallel columns:

| Matt. $6^{9-13}$. | Lk. $11^{1-4}$. |
|---|---|
| Our Father which art in heaven | Father |
| Hallowed be thy name | Hallowed be thy name |
| Thy kingdom come | Thy kingdom come |
| Thy will be done, | — |
| As in heaven, so on earth | — |
| Give us this day our daily bread | Give us day by day our daily bread |
| And forgive us our debts | And forgive us our sins; |
| As we also have forgiven our debtors. | for we ourselves also forgive every one that is indebted to us. |
| And bring us not into temptation, | And bring us not into temptation. |
| but deliver us from the evil one. | — |

Some texts of Lk. (cf. A.V.) insert the three clauses found in Matt. but omitted by the best manuscripts of Lk. There can be little doubt that this is due to copyists who assimilated the Lucan to the Matthaean form: Origen and S. Augustine both note the difference between the two Gospels in these passages. In Codex D before the words *ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου* (thy Kingdom come) occur the words *ἐφ' ἡμᾶς* (upon us): and Tertullian, S. Gregory of Nyssa, and the British Museum cursive 700 (belonging to the important *Θ* family of manuscripts) supply evidence that there was a form of the Lord's Prayer known in which there was a petition 'Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us' instead of either 'Thy Kingdom come' or 'Thy will be done'. This may have been what S. Luke originally wrote: compare his version of Matt.'s 'how much more shall your Father . . . give *good things*' (Matt. $7^{11}$), which becomes in Lk. $11^{13}$ 'how much more shall your heavenly Father give *the Holy Spirit*'. But Matt. probably preserves Q more faithfully here, and the reading of Codex 700 in the Lord's Prayer may be a similar Lucan adaptation due to the writer's marked interest in the Holy Spirit.

$11^{1}$. We have no other reference to John the Baptist's teaching about prayer: but the rabbis sometimes gave forms of prayer to their disciples.

$11^{2}$. The later Jewish literature shows that, though in the canonical books of the O.T. God is seldom regarded as the Father of the individual, the practice of so regarding Him was becoming more common. Much of the Lord's Prayer can be paralleled. Our Lord, as His custom was, builds on existing foundations, and His originality is shown in the use He makes of His materials. It should be noted that, though the Lord's Prayer quickly became a *form* of prayer (and rightly so), it was not primarily intended for such use, but as a summary of the kind of things to pray for: Matt. $6^{9}$ rightly has 'after this manner pray ye'.

The 'name' of God means the nature and character of God as revealed to men. The prayer begins with adoration, that reverent love of the human soul for the Eternal Father of souls which is the foundation of religion. For the phrase 'to hallow the name of God' cf. Isa. $29^{23}$, Ezek. $36^{23}$. The prayer which immediately follows, for the coming of the Kingdom or Reign of God, covers the omitted clause 'Thy will be done': the whole purpose of God for man is summarized in His reign. Christian prayer is essentially for conformity to the Divine Will.

$11^{3-4}$. The petitions which follow, for (1) the supply of bodily needs, (2) forgiveness, (3) protection from evil, have each its significant limitation. The prayer for material things is limited to 'daily bread', which covers all that is sufficient for maintenance. The word ἐπιούσιον (translated 'daily') is found only here and in the Matthaean parallel: its meaning is obscure, but probably the R.V. margin is correct in understanding it to mean 'for the coming day'. Forgiveness is conditional on our forgiving others. 'The sense of sin—sin itself—does not finally depart from the conscience till love, its great enemy, possesses the ground which it once occupied' (F. D. Maurice, *The Lord's Prayer*). For the third petition cf. Matt. $26^{39-41}$, especially the words 'Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation': the prayer is against carelessness and spiritual blindness, which make the soul an easy victim, and also for protection in the exercise of moral choice and in face of moral evil. The double truth of man's dependence on God and his status as a moral agent, with a limited but real freedom, is implied here. It is not to be supposed that God tempts any man, in the sense of deliberately seeking to involve him in evil: but temptations come, in the ordinary course of human affairs, and we pray to escape them as we pray against hunger.

$11^{5-8}$. *Parable of the Friend at Midnight* (*the Importunate Friend*).

For a parallel parable see Lk. $18^{1-8}$ (the Unjust Judge). Both parables exemplify the truth that the parable is a tale with a moral, and that the details of the tale are not all to be taken, as in an allegory, to have a symbolic value. Obviously our Lord does not mean that God is like a peevish man wakened out of his first sleep, or like an unrighteous judge. The point of this parable is that if a man, reluctant and grudging, can be persuaded by persevering effort to satisfy a friend's need, *a fortiori* God, who is not reluctant or grudging, will answer prayer. Our Lord stresses the man's importunity in the story because it is the sign of that unwearying faith in God which elsewhere He teaches with such emphasis. Prayer, in His sense, must be importunate, since it must be the prayer of faith: cf. $18^1$. It is strangely beside the point to speak (as Montefiore does) of the 'simple and unphilosophic' nature of Jesus' conception of God shown in this parable: rather the parable shows His profound and deeply philosophic insight into the nature of the prayer-relation.

There are serious dangers of vulgarity in talking too easily about the 'humour of Jesus'; but it is tempting to find an air of comedy in this story. It may reflect, as has been suggested, a boyhood memory of crowded cottages in Nazareth. The humorous climax might be found at the end of the story, where the impatient householder gives his friend 'as many as he needeth' to get rid of him.

$11^{9-13}$. *Teaching about Prayer.*

These sayings follow effectively on the parable, since they emphasize the same conception of prayer as a wholly natural, spontaneous, and undoubting freedom in man's approach to God. It is apparent in our Lord's analogy of the child, used here and elsewhere. As God is the wise and loving Father, so man should have the ready confidence of such a Father's child in approaching Him. The *a fortiori* argument is again used: evil men—the good God; material things—the greatest of spiritual blessings.

### IV. *The Beelzebub Controversy* ($11^{14-28}$: cf. Matt. $12^{22-32, 43-45}$; Mk. $3^{22-30}$).

That our Lord worked miracles of healing can only be denied by a wholly irrational scepticism, but the evidence provided by this passage is all the more convincing because it is indirect. The attack upon Him, the fear that His 'mighty works' would attract the multitudes to His side, leads some of His opponents to attribute the cures to 'black magic'. Both lines of tradition, Mk. and Q, give versions of this episode. Comparison with Matt. shows that S. Luke followed the version of Q.

$11^{15}$. *some of them*: Matt. 'the Pharisees'; Mk. 'the scribes which came down from Jerusalem'.

*Beelzebub.* The Greek manuscripts have Beelzebul: the form Beelzebub is due to the Vulgate. Beelzebub was the god of the Philistine city of Ekron. Beelzebul may mean either 'lord of dung', i.e. of heathen abomination, and possibly is a kind of parody of the name Beelzebub; or it may mean 'lord of the dwelling', i.e. of the abode of the demons, with possibly a reference to the Greek *Ζεὺς οὐράνιος*. The explanatory words in the text, 'the prince of the demons', suggests that Beelzebub or Beelzebul was identified with Satan: compare also verse 18.

$11^{16}$. Fire from heaven was called down by Elijah on the followers of 'Baal-zebub the god of Ekron' in the story given in 2 Kings 1. The sign which was asked may have been something of the kind. Popular clamour for marvels as proof of His mission was a danger our Lord had foreseen at the time of His temptations in the wilderness.

$11^{17-19}$. The appeal is from heated fancies to common sense. Satan does not undo his own work: nor would the power of evil be as strong as it is, if Satan had been thus fighting against himself. Read as R.V. margin in verse 17.

$11^{20-22}$. Another passage showing that the Kingdom of God is a present reality with the coming of the Christ, as well as something to be realized in the future. The 'strong man fully armed' is Satan: the 'stronger than he' is God or Christ.

$11^{23}$. In the warfare just described there can be no neutrality. The complementary saying in $9^{50}$, 'he that is not against you is for you', belongs to a totally different context, and both sayings are equally authenticated.

$11^{24-26}$. A vividly told story drives home the teaching about decisive allegiance in the war between good and evil. Neutrality is ruinous to the neutral. The profound psychological insight shown, as well as the striking, almost weird, form of the tale make it one of the most powerful of our Lord's graphic illustrations of moral and psychological truths. In modern terms the truth here taught is that life is conative and active, so that a genuine indifference and passivity is impossible. There will always be a tendency in some direction, towards some ends, for any living organism. On the human level there is the continual urge of the organism towards ends, and those ends are relative to moral standards. The choice therefore lies between moral progress and moral retrogression. To be stagnant is to deteriorate. The mere temporary absence of positively immoral dispositions (the unclean spirit) is no proof of moral welfare: there must be the will to good. The uncanny picturesqueness of the story, with its grisly demon wandering restlessly among the desert rocks and sands, and calling from this evil, haunted spot seven hideous shapes 'more evil than himself', is derived from Jewish folk-lore, used with masterly effect.

$11^{27-28}$. A life-like incident of the journey closes this part. A woman from the crowd congratulates our Lord's mother on such a son, and Jesus assents, but adds a saying about the true blessedness. Mary is blessed in her Son, but there is no need to envy her blessedness on that account, since all who hear the word of God and keep it are blessed. Cf. Lk. $8^{21}$.

V. *Christian Discipleship* (11^29–12^59).

(*a*) Jesus refuses to give a sign (Q): 11^29-32.
(*b*) Sayings about Light (Q): 11^33-36.
(*c*) Woes to Pharisees and Lawyers (Q): 11^37–12^1.
(*d*) On Discipleship (Q): 12^2-12.
(*e*) On Dividing the Inheritance, and the Parable of the Rich Fool (L): 12^13-21.
(*f*) Against Anxiety (Q): 12^22-34.
(*g*) On Watchfulness (Q): 12^35-48.
(*h*) Not Peace but a Sword (Q): 12^49-53.
(*i*) Signs of the Times (Q): 12^54-56.
(*j*) On Reconciliation (Q): 12^57-59.

With the exception of the teaching in 12^13-21 this Part V is taken from Q, and contains some of the most familiar parts of that source, which appear in Matt.'s Sermon on the Mount. Its contents are very various, and our Lord addresses now the multitude, now Pharisees and lawyers, now His disciples. But the middle part, directly, and the remainder, indirectly, are concerned with the moral principles of Christian discipleship in the light of the Messianic Kingdom. The narrative thread connecting the ethical precepts is very slender. The stage is set at the beginning with the crowds thronging to hear Jesus, and then the scene changes to a Pharisee's house. It changes back to the crowds at 12^1, and for the rest of the chapter the narrative is reduced to the briefest of phrases, just sufficient to break the teaching into sections: cf. 12^13 'and one out of the multitude said'; 12^22 'and he said unto his disciples'; 12^41 'and Peter said'; 12^54 'and he said to the multitudes also'. For the most part each paragraph leads easily on to the next, though the group of sayings in 12^49-59 is difficult to fit into any consecutive scheme without a good deal of reading between the lines, and seems to consist of detached sayings which found a place here in Q and were taken over as they stood.

11^29-32. *Jesus Refuses to Give a Sign* (Matt. 12^38-42: cf. Mk. 8^11-12).

Again S. Luke prefers the fuller version of Q to the Marcan version. The demand for a sign came from the established belief that the Kingdom of God would be heralded by supernatural portents, as the apocalyptic writers declared. Such an expectation belongs to an idea of the Kingdom and the Messiah which our Lord had set aside, and He therefore denounces the call for any 'sign' except that which is given by His own appearance and mission. Jonah the prophet was a 'sign' of coming judgement to the Ninevites by the mere fact of his appearance among them: so it is with the Son of man in his generation. The Queen of Sheba came from the ends of the earth to hear Solomon: but this generation will not hear a greater than Solomon when He comes himself to them. Jerusalem has sunk below the level of Nineveh, which did repent at the preaching of Jonah.

11[29]. For the Book of Jonah, an allegorical tale of great interest and value, see Peake's *Commentary*, pp. 556 ff.

11[31]. *queen of the south*, i.e. of Sheba, the modern Yemen in southern Arabia, and then among the most southerly parts of the known world. The story is in 1 Kings 10[1-13].

11[33-36]. *Sayings about Light* (Matt. 5[15], 6[22-23]).

The connexion of thought is obscure, but seems to be this: the demand for a sign was due to the darkened spiritual vision of the people, a blindness produced by their impenitent complacency, so that they failed to see the light shining before their very eyes. If the eye of their souls had been 'light' not 'dark' (i.e. in a double metaphor, 'seeing and sincere' not 'blind and insincere') they would have perceived and welcomed the light of Christ. If a man has a light, the rational thing to do with it is to use it, not hide it away. The eye of the body is its 'light': when that eye is 'evil', i.e. diseased, the whole body is lightless and cannot see what is clearly visible to the healthy eye. So with the inner or spiritual eye, 'the light that is within thee'.

11[33]. This verse is used earlier (8[16]), following the parable of the Sower, where it also appears in Mk. See the note *ad loc.*

11[36]. Many doubt the text of this very difficult verse. It seems a tautology as it stands.

11[37]–12[1]. *Woes to Pharisees and Lawyers.*

Formally, the connexion is made by the incident recorded in verse 37. In the thought there is a clear connexion between the impenitence of the people and the bad leadership of their spiritual guides and teachers. Matt. 23[13-36] has this denunciation in a longer form and attributes it to our Lord as He spoke in the Temple: cf. Lk. 20[45-47] for a fragment of this Temple discourse. That our Lord came into conflict with Pharisees cannot be doubted: but the length and elaboration of this passage, and still more of the Matthaean parallel, makes one suspect early Christian accretions, due to the bitter antagonism of the Jewish authorities, for which see the *Acts, passim.* It is generally agreed that the diatribes against 'the Jews' in the fourth Gospel reflect this feud. S. Luke introduces an unusual note of harshness in making this unsparing denunciation occur when our Lord was a Pharisee's guest.

$11^{37}$. *dine* (ἀριστήσῃ). The Greek word is used of the morning meal, the first of the two regular meals of the day.

$11^{38}$. Cf. Mk. $7^{3,4}$. The ceremonial washings before the meal and between the courses are referred to here. The Pharisee was not concerned with the cleanliness of our Lord's hands, but with His omission of the formalities of Pharisaic correctness.

$11^{39-41}$. The argument is obscure; Easton says 'hopelessly' so. It may mean, 'you make the outward parts of your pots ceremonially pure and leave the inward parts of your souls morally impure, though God made your souls for cleanliness as well as your pots. And a better way of keeping your pots clean in God's sight would be to use them for feeding the hungry, a moral duty which you neglect in favour of your ceremonial scrupulousness'.

Codex D transposes 'outside' and 'inside' in verse 40, and Wellhausen, adopting this, interprets the verse as meaning 'Has not the man who has cleansed the inside cleansed the outside as well?' the verb for 'to make' appearing in the Septuagint in the sense of 'to cleanse'. The corresponding passage in Matt. gives a different sense.

$11^{42-44}$. The three woes are directed against false scrupulousness, ostentation, and hypocrisy. All religion, like the rest of human life, has its external forms, since man has a body as well as a spirit. Our Lord does not attack forms, but formalism, the preoccupation with forms at the expense of the moral and spiritual realities of which the forms are the framework. Such formalism, leading inevitably to these three vices of religious pedantry, ostentation and hypocrisy, is the danger which dogs all conventional religion; and it seems to have been marked in the Pharisaism of our Lord's lifetime on earth.

$11^{42}$. The law required tithes of the harvest, and even garden potherbs did not escape the Pharisaic interpretation of 'harvest'. 'Judgement' (κρίσις) means the distinction between right and wrong. It is noteworthy that our Lord (at the end of the verse) is represented as condemning carefulness about detail not in itself, but only when it is divorced from a greater care for more important principles, the 'weightier matters of the law'. It is clear that we are to make a similar distinction in the next verse. There is no harm in 'chief seats' and marks of respect in themselves: the harm consists in coveting these things as a means of self-gratification.

$11^{44}$. Contrast the point made in the parallel Matt. $23^{27}$. S. Luke emphasizes the *concealment* of their true character, the writer of the first Gospel its *corruption*. It was defiling to touch a grave (Num. $19^{16}$). The whitewashing of graves, referred to in Matt., was to enable people to avoid them.

$11^{45-52}$. The Pharisees were a large body of the Jewish people, the 'lawyers' (*νομικοί*) or scribes were the professional students and teachers of the Law. Naturally many scribes were Pharisees, though not all. It was the 'tradition' built up by the scribes which the Pharisees upheld as equally binding with the Law. Probably we are intended to assume that this lawyer was a Pharisee. Matt. $23^{13}$ classes scribes and Pharisees together. The three charges against the lawyers indicate the dangers of a formal teaching of the moral law, as the woes against the Pharisees pointed to the dangers of a formal piety. The charges are (1) rigorism—the fettering of life with rules and regulations harshly applied; (2) intransigence—the persecuting spirit that crushes out reformers; (3) obscurantism—keeping the people in ignorance, a procedure which reacted upon themselves, making them narrow and illiberal.

$11^{45}$. *reproachest*: a strong word (*ὑβρίζεις*): 'insult' or 'outrage'.

$11^{47-48}$. The lip-service of the lawyers to the great prophets of the past cannot undo the fact that their spirit is exactly the same as that which led their ancestors to reject the prophets.

$11^{49}$. *the wisdom of God*: i.e. God in His wisdom, the Divine Providence. Harnack's hypothesis that there was a work now lost entitled 'The Wisdom of God', and that this is quoted here, is quite unnecessary.

$11^{50}$. The reference seems to be to the fall of Jerusalem (A. D. 70). There may be a reflection of the Church's experience here.

$11^{51}$. The first and the last murders in the Jewish canonical scriptures, which ended with Chronicles. So the phrase is equivalent to 'in all your national history'. The references are Gen. $4^{10}$, 2 Chron. $24^{22}$.

$11^{52}$. The 'dog-in-the-manger' policy of all obscurantists. Their false view of the Law and their contempt for the ignorant 'people of the land' made them lock the door of knowledge against others, and at the same time made them incapable of profiting by the Law themselves.

$12^{2\text{-}12}$. *On Discipleship.*

Jesus exhorts and encourages His followers, beginning with a warning against Pharisaic hypocrisy and going on to bid them have no fear but trust in God. Verses 2–9 appear in Matt. $10^{27\text{-}33}$ as part of the charge to the Twelve. The passage which follows (vv. 10–12) appears in Matt. $12^{31,32}$ (and also in Mk. $3^{28\text{-}30}$) in connexion with the Beelzebub controversy (Lk. $11^{14\text{-}28}$). S. Luke is probably using Q more or less as he found it, while in Matt. the material is re-sorted.

Positive teaching follows on the indirect teaching suggested by the errors of Pharisees and lawyers. S. Luke makes the connexion by using a saying of our Lord's which in the other two synoptists appears in a quite different context, though connected with the Pharisaic demand for a sign: see Matt. 16 init. and Mk. $8^{11\text{ff}}$. By combining the warning against hypocrisy with the passage which immediately follows it, he gets a twofold meaning into vv. 2, 3. They look back primarily to the warning against hypocrisy, and assert that it will inevitably be shown up: they also look forward to the passage where the disciples are encouraged not to fear, by urging frankness and courage in proclaiming the Christian message. This second application of the saying has already been made in Lk. $8^{17}$, where S. Luke found the parallel in his Marcan source in a context where it certainly seems more suitable.

$12^{5}$. This refers to God, whose omnipotence is unlimited. There are two senses of 'fear' in this passage. The 'fear of God' is the religious attitude of submission to the absolute authority of a love which is supreme and the sole object of unquestioning obedience and reverent awe: the only fearful thing is rebellion against this love. But all other 'fear' is bad: men and circumstances are not to be feared, since they cannot rightly claim any final authority over us. Hence our Lord can say almost in the same breath 'Fear him' (v. 5) and 'Fear not' (v. 7).

*hell* (γέεννα). Gehenna (a transliteration of the Hebrew Ge-Hinnom, 'valley of Hinnom') was the Jewish symbolical name for the place of punishment in the life after death. The valley was the place where the rubbish from the city of Jerusalem was cast and burnt: it had in the past been desecrated by the ghastly worship of Moloch (see Jer. $32^{35}$).

$12^6$. *farthings*: 'pence' would be nearer the value.

The passage is important for the stress it lays on the Divine concern with the smallest details of the life of nature and of man. God does not interfere to prevent the death of the sparrows or even the death of the much more valuable human beings: but all these things happen with His knowledge and permission, which guarantee that the loss is not absolute or final, not mere waste, whether it be great or small.

$12^{8-9}$. Cf. Lk. $9^{26}$.

$12^{10}$. Cf. Matt. $12^{31-32}$, Mk. $3^{28-30}$, in both of which passages this saying is connected with the Beelzebub controversy. The connexion of thought here is less obvious: blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is suggested by denial of the Son of man, both being sins of the same type, and probably in Q such mnemonic links served as a convenient means of arranging the sayings of our Lord. The connexion between this verse and verse 11 seems to be of the same kind: both sayings refer to the Holy Spirit.

Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is, as appears from a comparison of the traditions in Mk. and Q, the fundamental rebellion which calls good evil and ascribes to the devil what is manifestly the work of God. This state of mind, while it lasts, is essentially unforgivable, since it is the one thing that sets man in defiant hostility to God. To calumniate Jesus, the Son of man, is forgivable, for He may not be understood and appreciated. But the Holy Spirit is unmistakably the light of God: to call that darkness is to abandon God by voluntary alienation and to close the door to Divine grace by one's own will. It is noteworthy that Matt. adds 'neither in this world, nor in that which is to come'. Probably this is to be attributed to the tendency, visible elsewhere, to strengthen our Lord's words. The form of the saying in the Marcan tradition is doubtful, but the authority of the important manuscripts D, W, and $\Theta$ is in favour of a form parallel to that in Lk., rather than that of our Revised Version, 'hath *never* forgiveness'. At the same time, our Lord clearly spoke very strongly about blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, and He may very well have declared that such *essentially* unpardonable wickedness might have abiding consequences.

$12^{11}$. The synagogues served as the local courts. 'The rulers and the authorities' are primarily the Sanhedrin and the higher courts of Herod and the Roman government.

THE VALLEY OF HINNOM

### $12^{13-21}$. *On Dividing the Inheritance*: *Parable of the Rich Fool.*

S. Luke interpolates here a passage from his special source. The reason for putting it here would seem to be that it leads on very well to the next passage from Q, which deals with trust in God and His provision of material goods. Trust in God is the theme which links together all this section. It is perhaps the most marked feature of all our Lord's teaching and practice concerning the conduct of life.

The authority of the famous Rabbi is invoked to settle a domestic dispute in the interest of one disputant. Our Lord declines a task so much outside the scope of His work, and one for which there are regularly constituted authorities. We cannot tell whether the man was claiming what was rightly his or not: but his anxiety to get the help of the great Prophet for his own material advantage points to an unseemly interest in money-getting, and leads naturally on to the teaching against covetousness and false standards of welfare.

The parable that follows needs no comment. Apart from its profound moral, the rich irony of its portrait of the 'profiteer' is admirable in its restraint and pungency.

### $12^{22-34}$. *Against Anxiety.*

This passage occurs in Matt.'s Sermon on the Mount (Matt. $6^{25\text{ff.}}$), and the close verbal parallelism between the two evangelists provides one of the more striking pieces of evidence for the existence of the hypothetical document Q.

The whole passage has a supreme literary and spiritual beauty which all ages have acknowledged; but its intensely practical wisdom is perhaps more manifest in the modern world than at any other time since the words were first uttered by our Lord. The havoc wrought by anxiety and fear has at no time been more prominent, and the most important new developments in medical and psychological science have been inspired by the urgency of the need to overcome them.

$12^{22}$. *be not anxious* (*μὴ μεριμνᾶτε*). The familiar A.V., 'Take no thought', uses the word 'thought' to mean 'anxiety', a sense common in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English, but now obsolete. Adeney (Century Bible) quotes Bacon's reference to 'an alderman on the verge of bankruptcy who "died with thought and anguish"'. Anxiety and a reasonable prudence are poles asunder both psychologically and morally.

$12^{23}$. Since God has provided the more important life and body, He will not fail to provide the subsidiary nourishment.

$12^{25}$. *a cubit to his stature.* The word here translated 'stature' (ἡλικία) may mean 'age' (as in John $9^{21,23}$), and as it is more common to seek longer life than greater height, the meaning may be, as many commentators prefer, 'a span to his age'.

$12^{26}$. *even that which is least.* Omitted in Codex D and not found in the Matthaean version. The words may be an explanatory addition of S. Luke's or of some very early scribe: a triviality like a few more months of life (or a few extra inches of height) cannot be attained by worry; why then worry about more important things, which are even less likely to be got by anxiety?

$12^{27}$. *lilies.* Probably a generic term for the brightly coloured spring flowers of Palestine; in particular, various indigenous species of gladiolus. See Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. iii, art. Lilies.

$12^{28}$. *cast into the oven*, i.e. for fuel.

$12^{30}$. *nations of the world.* The Gentiles, who were ignorant of the truth about God and man's relation to Him. The phrase is common in the writings of the rabbis, but does not seem to occur anywhere in the Septuagint or—except here—in the N.T.

This verse and the next are very noteworthy, as illustrating the extraordinary richness and depth of our Lord's ethical teaching. He combines the clearest and most emphatic assertion of the primacy of spiritual values with a complete avoidance of that contempt for material things which infects even such noble systems as Platonism and Stoicism. The ease and sureness of His moral insight are very remarkable. Nowhere else do we find a spiritual idealism so heroic and so exalted, and yet so wholesome, so free from doctrinaire pedantries, or again a practical realism so firmly based in the actualities of human life, but so free from the pedestrian commonplaces of average prudential moralizing.

$12^{32}$. Found only in Lk.: cf. $22^{28-30}$, Matt. $19^{28}$, Mk. $12^{9}$. These passages are of the greatest importance for the understanding of our Lord's teaching about the Kingdom of God. The supernatural order comes upon earth, and the new People of God is brought into being in the 'little flock', the Messianic community that centres round Jesus and His apostles, the twelve patriarchs of the new Israel (Lk. $22^{30}$).

$12^{33}$. That the precept to sell one's possessions and give the proceeds in alms does not imply a universal obligation upon all Christians to strip themselves of everything is sufficiently shown by the fact that our Lord Himself accepted the gifts of well-to-do followers and had money out of which He gave alms (Lk. $8^{3}$, John $13^{29}$, $12^{6}$). The antithesis is one of principle: Christ's followers are to be rich in spiritual goods and to use their material goods for the benefit of others. Yet for some in all ages of the Church the call has come to carry out the precept literally, and the Church has gained incalculably from the presence and example of the religious orders. The essence of the matter is contained in verse 34, which shows that what is vital is the standard of values controlling a man's conduct.

$12^{35-48}$. *On Watchfulness.*

Watchfulness is the necessary complement to trustfulness. The casting away of care does not mean an apathetic fatalism, watching with a benumbed indifference the passage of events. Christian faith is to be alert, ready to seize every opportunity which God provides. This is taught in three parables: (1) the Master returning from a Feast, (2) the Thief in the Night, (3) the Unfaithful Servant.

The substance of this passage appears in very different forms elsewhere in the synoptists. Verses 35–38 are reminiscent of the parable of the Ten Virgins (Matt. $25^{1-13}$), though there are obvious differences, and there are also resemblances to Mk. $13^{34-37}$. Verses 39 and 40, with verses 42–46, are parallel to Matt. $24^{43-51}$: verse 41 may be either from Q or inserted by S. Luke (v. *Oxford Studies*, p. 124).

The primary bearing of the passage is eschatological (cf. v. 40), but this does not exhaust its meaning. Every opportunity is in a secondary sense a 'coming of the Son of man', so that the passage states a general ethical principle of the greatest importance.

$12^{37}$. *he shall gird himself, &c.*: as our Lord did, when He washed the disciples' feet (John 13).

$12^{38}$. The night was divided into four watches by the Roman reckoning, which may have been used at this time by the Jews. The earlier Jewish reckoning gave three watches (9 p.m.–midnight, 12–3 a.m., 3–6).

$12^{39}$. *broken through* (διορυχθῆναι). The ancient burglar dug a hole through the mud wall.

$12^{41-42}$. S. Peter's prominence is again to be noted. Our Lord, as His manner was, makes no direct answer, but leads His questioner to work out the answer for himself by means of a story that challenges attention. The stewards of the Lord's household, set over the rest, have an even greater responsibility (v. 48b).

$12^{46}$. *cut him asunder.* Probably to be understood literally, of a violent death. Three grades of offenders seem to be thought of: the thoroughgoing tyrant of the story, whose penalty is death; the gravely negligent, whose penalty is many stripes; the merely careless, who receives few stripes. But 'cut him asunder' may be a misunderstanding of an Aramaic word meaning 'cut off', 'set apart', in which case the servant of the story seems further distinguished into two types, one more and one less culpable.

$12^{49-53}$. *'Not peace but a sword'* (Matt. $10^{34-36}$).

This is the first of three loosely connected, closing paragraphs suggested by the eschatology of the preceding parables, and harking back to the Messianic opening of this Part V ($11^{29-32}$). The coming of the Messiah and the inauguration of His Kingdom do not mean an age of peace and quiet, but rather of fire and division: and the Messiah Himself has a baptism of agony still to endure.

$12^{49}$. *what will I, if it is already kindled?* A difficult saying, the meaning of which has not been satisfactorily explained. One interpretation links it with the following sentence, thus: 'It is already kindled, and there is no more for me to do: yet there is one thing still left for me, the Passion which awaits me and which will be my release.' Cf. Mk. $10^{38}$ for the figure of baptism used of the self-consecration of the Passion. Others think it means: 'I wish it were already kindled: but first must come my Passion.'

$12^{51}$. A prophecy which has been fulfilled in all ages of the Church's life, and which is fulfilled every day in such countries as India in modern times.

$12^{54-56}$. *Signs of the Times.*

A similar analogy is found in Matt. $16^{2-3}$, but the weather signs there are the colours of the evening and morning sky. The demand for a sign, the professed inability to understand without a sign, are hypocritical: the people among whom the Christ has appeared are not without wits, which they use in interpreting signs, and the signs of the times are staring them in the face: they cannot help seeing that great things have happened and are still happening among them—the preaching of John and then the message and works of Christ.

$12^{57-59}$. *On Reconciliation* (Matt. $5^{25-26}$).

The connexion is obscure, but S. Luke in putting these sayings in this place seems to mean that even apart from signs the people ought of themselves to settle what is right, and to do it at once, since the Judgement is at hand. (Again, perhaps, there is a reference to the fall of Jerusalem.) Like a debtor who has still a chance of settlement, before his creditor takes the final step of throwing him into prison, the Jews should settle their account with God by repentance. The precept has then a national reference, whereas in Matt.'s Sermon on the Mount it is addressed to the individual.

VI. *Repentance: the Kingdom of God* ($13^{1-35}$).

(*a*) The Galileans and the Tower in Siloam (L): $13^{1-5}$.
(*b*) Parable of the Fig Tree (L): $13^{6-9}$.
(*c*) The Woman with the Spirit of Infirmity (L): $13^{10-17}$.
(*d*) Parables of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven (Q): $13^{18-21}$.
(*e*) The Strait Gate and the Shut Door (Q and L): $13^{22-30}$.
(*f*) Christ and Herod (L): $13^{31-33}$.
(*g*) 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem' (Q): $13^{34-35}$.

From this point onwards to the end of the Central Section S. Luke's special matter begins to predominate. He has used most of the Q material, and now introduces a large group of parables, incidents, &c., which are peculiar to him and give his Gospel its special quality and charm: into this he fits what remains of Q. The connexion of this chapter with what preceded it is clearly the need of repentance: but the internal connexion is again very loose.

$13^{1-5}$. *The Galileans and the Tower in Siloam.*

We have no other reference to the fate of these Galileans, but we learn from Josephus that there had been several recent massacres when turbulent crowds gathered in Jerusalem for the great feasts. Roman troops were stationed in the citadel, and this incident must have occurred when some fanatical Galilean pilgrims provoked Pilate to a characteristically ruthless act of repression. The mention of this and the next comparatively unimportant incident of the eighteen workmen killed in an accident, while employed on the aqueduct at Siloam (south of Jerusalem), shows that S. Luke was in contact with informants who were near enough to the events to remember precise details. Local colour of this sort is not manufactured.

Our Lord rejects the prevalent idea that exceptional calamities are a penalty for exceptional wickedness: this had been the theme stated and rejected in the Book of Job, and is a notion of divine retribution which persists to this day in many minds. Our Lord teaches that there is no such mechanical equivalence between sin and calamity in the life of the individual sinner, and then passes on to warn his hearers that nevertheless sin does produce disaster, and that they are in danger of disaster as long as they fail to repent. The thought of the coming downfall of Jerusalem and of the ambitions of nationalist Judaism is again dominant.

### $13^{6-9}$. *Parable of the Fig Tree.*

The lesson is that there is still time for the repentance which God asks of the Jews. For the 'vineyard of the Lord' as a symbol of the 'house of Israel' see Isa. $5^{1-7}$. It has often been suggested that this parable is the source of the difficult story of the cursing of the barren fig tree in Mk. $11^{12-14}$, Matt. $21^{18-21}$. This is no more than a guess, but it is supported by the fact that S. Luke omits the story of the cursing, and that he alone has this parable.

$13^{7}$. *cumber* (καταργεῖ): lit. 'make useless', 'sterilize'.

### $13^{10-17}$. *The Woman with the Spirit of Infirmity.*

Why does S. Luke introduce this healing miracle here? It is the only instance of our Lord's teaching in a synagogue in this part of His life: the connecting verse 10 shows that the writer is quite vague about time and place: the story seems to break awkwardly into the teaching about repentance and the Kingdom; and the 'therefore' of verse 18 is a difficulty to most commentators. Loisy, treating the story as allegory, not history, invents an elaborate system of concealed meanings. The woman and the rejoicing multitude are a symbol of those who accept the Messiah, in contrast to the fig tree of the parable, which stands for the unrepentant Jews: the birds of verse 19 are the Gentiles and the three measures of meal the heathen world. This is too fantastic, since there is no reason to suppose that S. Luke does not regard the incident of the woman as plain matter of history. Yet Loisy is doubtless right in looking for a connexion in the thought. If the difficulty of the 'therefore' can be solved, the rest is easier. Without reading too much into the text, we have to link on the story of the woman to the parables of the Kingdom. May not the link be this, that the incident of the healing, significantly described as a release from Satan's bondage, is to S. Luke a striking example of the germination of the seed and the working of the leaven? The Kingdom, which is compared to the germinating seed and the leaven, is manifestly present and active among them: compare the message to John the Baptist (Lk. $7^{22}$). So the incident serves to make the transition from the warnings about repentance to the Kingdom parables and teachings which follow.

$13^{11}$. *a spirit of infirmity.* The 'weakness' (ἀσθένεια), which caused her to be unable to straighten herself, is attributed to possession here and later (v. 16), but no specific exorcism is recorded: see the note on demoniac possession.

$13^{12}$. *he called her.* We are not told whether the woman had come with the intention of seeking a cure at the hands of our Lord: perhaps not, as she would be aware of the Sabbath restrictions. In any case, we have the unusual action of our Lord calling the woman to Him.

$13^{14}$. This ruler of the synagogue, pompous and indignant, rating the congregation, to which he is accustomed to lay down the law, rather than the Galilean rabbi whose conduct is so improper, but who is less promising material for a scolding, is one of S. Luke's life-like portraits, sketched with telling economy of words.

Our Lord's attitude to the Sabbath has already been illustrated in $6^{1-11}$. Again there is no denial of the sanctity of the Sabbath, but only an assertion that the relief of human need is no profanation. Here the *a fortiori* argument clearly indicates that to heal on the Sabbath is more than a concession, to be excused on the ground of necessity, as is the watering of cattle: it is positively meritorious, an action which is peculiarly appropriate to the Sabbath day.

$13^{16}$. The woman's infirmity is regarded as the work of the evil power, and our Lord's healing of sickness is a conquest of evil: cf. $10^{18}$. The large question of whether all sickness is to be regarded as evil, or how far and in what sense sickness can be said to be sent by God, cannot be fully discussed within the limits of such a commentary as this. But it should be noted that in the Gospels the two main points of evidence are these: (1) our Lord's healing of bodily or mental sickness is without exception regarded as a triumph over the power of evil, and a sign of His Messianic authority and His victory over Satan; but (2) His acts of healing are always secondary and incidental to His work of proclaiming spiritual and moral truths, and He did not regard the removal of physical sickness or infirmity as His main work.

$13^{18-21}$. *Parables of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven* (Matt. $13^{31-33}$; and cf. Mk. $4^{30-32}$).

The smallness of the mustard seed was proverbial: cf. Lk. $17^6$. Here the familiar figure of speech is applied to the Kingdom of God. At its beginnings the Kingdom is so small as to be hardly perceptible, but it will become a great thing, visible and spacious. The two closely related ideas of the Kingdom and the Church here practically coalesce. The second parable stresses not the increase in size, but the transforming potency of the Kingdom when it is introduced into the world of men. The two parables probably formed a pair in Q. In the Marcan tradition the parable of the Mustard Seed is combined with the parable of the Seed growing secretly. The truth about the kingdom, which S. Luke so clearly brings out in his Gospel, namely, that it is already present in its beginnings, but is future in its fullness, again receives confirmation. The further point, that the coming of the Kingdom is wholly the work of God, is also apparent: the secret and mysterious forces of Nature in the growth of a plant and the fermentation process caused by the yeast are analogues of the secret and mighty workings of the Divine Will in fulfilling its purposes. Men have to make ready to receive what is in itself a gift that descends upon them from God.

$13^{18}$. *Unto what, &c.* Our Lord uses what apparently was a common rabbinical formula in teaching by parables: 'the usual opening of a parable in the second-century and later Jewish literature, "A parable. To what is the matter like? To", &c.' (Allen).

$13^{22-30}$. *The Strait Gate and the Shut Door.*

S. Luke, by means of a brief reference to the background of narrative (v. 22), links on to the two parables a saying and a parable that bear on the theme of the Kingdom, and in particular refer to entrance into it. Jesus is asked a question which was a familiar topic for discussion in the rabbinical schools. He answers in a way which shifts the subject from the level of academic speculation to that of practical moral effort. No direct solution of the problem is given, but instead the questioner and his companions are bidden to see that they themselves are in the way of salvation and not to postpone the effort till it is too late.

The similar sayings in Matt. $7^{13,22-23}$, $8^{11-12}$, appear in a different context: S. Luke combines the teaching with the parable of the Shut Door, which is peculiar to him.

$13^{23}$. *are they few that be saved?* The Greek uses the present participle (ὀλίγοι οἱ σωζόμενοι): 'be saved' means 'are in process of being saved, are in the way of salvation'. 'To be on the right track' gives the suggestion of the phrase.

$13^{24}$. The figure is a house door, not the gate leading to a pathway as in Matt. The door is narrow by comparison with the spaciousness of the house, to which it is the sole entrance. 'Strive' (ἀγωνίζεσθε) implies intense effort. The futures 'shall seek', 'shall not be able', as the parable shows, refer to the time when the opportunity has passed. Men cannot afford to be casual and dilatory about their fundamental choices in life. The manner of our Lord's reply not only has the effect of giving a practical turn to the conversation, but also indicates indirectly the false assumption behind the question. The number of those who are being saved is not arbitrary, fixed by some divine fiat at either few or many: it is contingent on the earnest effort of individuals in using their opportunity.

$13^{25-27}$. The mention of the 'narrow door' suggests another door, that leading into a house where a banquet is being held. The figure of the Messianic banquet was a familiar one. The intruders here are those who presume on a casual association with the master of the house: the guests are seated and the banquet has begun, and they come expecting to be admitted. There seem to be two objections to them: they are too late, but also they are unworthy, since they are 'workers of iniquity' (a reminiscence of Ps. $6^{8}$). The second is the main point. They do not depart from their evil ways, but think it will be enough to claim acquaintance with the master of the house. Compare the parable of the Ten Virgins (Matt. $25^{1-12}$) and the saying 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, &c.' (Matt. $7^{21}$).

$13^{28\cdot 29}$. *the weeping and gnashing of teeth.* Symbols, used in Enoch and other apocalyptic writings, to express the misery of those in 'outer darkness' (Matt. $8^{12}$), i.e. excluded from the Kingdom. The language used to indicate the Gentiles who will come into the Kingdom, with the patriarchs and prophets of old, is derived from Isa. 45 and 49.

$13^{30}$. A proverbial saying, attributed to our Lord in the Oxyrhynchus 'Sayings of Jesus', as well as in Matt. $19^{30}$, $20^{16}$. The reversal of human standards by the ethics of the Kingdom will produce surprising changes in the moral status of individuals: compare, e.g., those who are declared 'blessed' in the Beatitudes.

### $13^{31-33}$. *Christ and Herod.*

This incident leads to the Lament over Jerusalem, which fitly rounds off the chapter in which Jewish failure has been a prominent thought. Our Lord's warnings and stern words to His own generation are accompanied by a deep yearning for His countrymen. S. Luke leads up to the Lament by a story of a warning message brought by certain Pharisees: Matt. $23^{37-39}$ puts the Lament at the end of the 'woes' to scribes and Pharisees, and assigns it to our Lord's last week in Jerusalem.

We cannot tell whether these Pharisees were friends, or enemies whose purpose was to entice Jesus into the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin, as Plummer asserts. There is no evidence of a plot. The territory of Herod Antipas included Galilee and Peraea, and S. Luke presumably conceives of our Lord as travelling through Peraea to Jerusalem. Yet it appeared from Lk. $9^{51-56}$ as though He were travelling south through Samaria, on the west side of Jordan. The exact course of our Lord's journey cannot be discovered from the Gospels, and we have to be content with ignorance. Burkitt's reconstruction (*Gospel History and its Transmission*, pp. 96–97), based on Mk. and Lk. $9^{51-56}$, is very speculative, and does not leave room for this appearance of our Lord in Peraea. He supposes our Lord, accompanied by S. James and S. John, to have passed through Samaria, while S. Peter and the rest went by the more ordinary route through Peraea, the two parties meeting where the Peraean road crossed the Jordan into Judaea. It is not unlikely that our Lord moved about freely in the course of His southward journey, which finally brought Him to Jerusalem. Again, it is possible that S. Luke introduces here an incident which chronologically belongs to an earlier period in our Lord's life.

$13^{31}$. For Herod's attitude cf. $9^{7-9}$. Suspicion had led to definite hostility.

$13^{32}$. *that fox.* Antipas had inherited his father's crafty cruelty. It is not necessary to suppose that our Lord tells these Pharisees to take the message because He regards them as Herod's tools, and their coming as part of Herod's cunning. But it may be, as Plummer suggests, that the tetrarch 'did not wish to bring upon himself a second time the odium of having slain a Prophet' and took this roundabout way of getting Jesus out of his territory.

*to-day and to-morrow, and the third day.* This phrase, and the similar expression in the next verse, 'to-day and to-morrow and the day following', seem to mean 'a short time'. The consummation is not far ahead. He will leave Herod's territory, going on His way, not because of threats, but because it is in Jerusalem, and very soon, that He must be crucified. The sorrowful irony of the reference to Jerusalem leads finely on to the Lament.

$13^{34-35}$. *'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem.'*

The tragic beauty of these verses and their literary excellence should be noticed. Our Lord laments the failure of Jerusalem, the centre of the Jewish religion, to receive the salvation, many times freely offered, and prophesies the coming downfall of the city. The words 'how often', &c., imply previous visits to Jerusalem, which, though not recorded in the synoptic gospels, may confidently be assumed, apart from the evidence of the fourth Gospel. It is incredible that our Lord should not have frequently visited Jerusalem for the great feasts, according to the normal practice of His people. Occasional references in the synoptists, as e.g. to the man who lent the room for the Last Supper, or to our Lord's friendship with Martha and Mary of Bethany, show indirectly that He was known in Jerusalem, and not only by hearsay.

Our Lord's knowledge of His Divine sonship emerges from this passage all the more significantly because it is not directly affirmed but assumed. It is as the Christ, the Son of God, that He speaks of gathering the children of Jerusalem together. The authoritative function implies, and is justified by His supernatural character. The simile is that used in 2 Esdras $1^{30}$, where the words are uttered by God: 'thus saith the Almighty Lord . . . I gathered you together as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings.' See also the Messianically interpreted passage Isaiah $16^{1-5}$.

Verse 35 is probably to be taken as a prediction of the Parousia. The opportunity which Jerusalem has let slip will not return. Not till the End will Christ's contemporaries realize what they have done. The words 'blessed is he', &c., are from Ps. $118^{26}$.

VII. *At a Pharisee's Table* ($14^{1-24}$).

(*a*) Healing of a Man with Dropsy (L): $14^{1-6}$.
(*b*) On Humility (L): $14^{7-11}$.
(*c*) On Hospitality (L): $14^{12-14}$.
(*d*) Parable of the Great Supper (Q? or L?): $14^{15-24}$.

The material here is peculiar to S. Luke, who groups it round a meal taken at the house of an unnamed but prominent Pharisee. Probably we are intended to suppose that our Lord's Sabbath healings (five of which are recorded by S. Luke, $4^{35}$, $4^{39}$, $6^{8}$, $13^{13}$, $14^{4}$) were by now notorious, and this occasion was to be a test case at a gathering of representative Pharisees. We have no means of knowing whether the three paragraphs which follow the account of the healing were already associated with it in the tradition as S. Luke received it, or whether the combination is his. The healing is parallel to that recorded in $13^{10-17}$.

### $14^{1-6}$. *Healing of a Man with Dropsy.*

Twice before ($7^{36}$ and $11^{37}$) S. Luke has recorded our Lord's acceptance of hospitality from Pharisees. It is not quite clear what is meant by a 'ruler' of the Pharisees (*ἄρχων*): we do not know of any officials of that name, and probably by the 'rulers' are meant the leading men of eminence in the Pharisaic movement. Our Lord is no longer in Galilee, but nearer the capital, and therefore more likely to meet the prominent personages whose distinction made them especially in need of the teaching about humility given in the next paragraph. The ruler has friends with him, 'lawyers and Pharisees', and they regard themselves as entitled to the 'chief seats'. We cannot tell whether the dropsical man was an invited guest or a casual onlooker, or a man who had deliberately sought out Jesus in the hope of being healed. Again the point of the story is the supreme claim of charity and humanity, and not that urgency excuses what is in itself an improper use of the Sabbath. Though the animals of the analogy could not be left, since they were in danger of death, the dropsical man might have waited without serious danger till the Sabbath was over: but that is beside the point, since it is positively and inherently right to do good on the Sabbath.

$14^{2}$. *which had the dropsy.* ὑδρωπικός, noted by Hobart and commentators as a medical word.

$14^{5}$. *well*: an open cistern cut in the rock.

*draw him up*: even this was prohibited by the rigorists, though food might be let down, or a Gentile employed to get the cattle out.

### $14^{7-11}$. *On Humility* (cf. $13^{30}$).

The illustrative story is in terms of social etiquette, but our Lord's meaning is made clear in verse 11: the lesson is a moral one. The virtue of humility is the passport to the Kingdom. The symbol of the Messianic banquet was probably in our Lord's mind.

$14^{8}$. *marriage feast*: a special occasion when formalities would be observed.

$14^{10}$. It is not the purpose of humility to get promotion: but only the humble can be promoted.

### $14^{12-14}$. *On Hospitality.*

'A parable in a hortatory form' (Plummer): the moral is, do kindness without seeking reward. 'Call not' (*μὴ φώνει*) implies habitual action. We cannot suppose that our Lord categorically forbids a man ever to entertain people of his own station in life, but S. Luke probably means that Christians should give feasts only to the poor. Note the ironical 'lest haply they also bid thee again', suggesting a danger to be avoided.

$14^{14}$. 'The resurrection of the just' was a phrase derived from the theology of Pharisaism. Some rabbis held that the wicked would not rise again. But the doctrine of a general resurrection was also widely held. The N.T. references are mainly to the resurrection to blessedness, as indeed might have been expected. In the argument with the Sadducees about the resurrection (Lk. $20^{27-38}$) S. Luke amplifies the Marcan text (cf. Lk. $20^{35}$ with Mk. $12^{25}$) so as to imply that only the good rise: but cf. John $5^{29}$, and in S. Luke's writings Acts $24^{15}$. Whether our Lord made any positive statement on the point must be left doubtful: we certainly cannot press the use of a familiar phrase in this verse.

### $14^{15-24}$. *Parable of the Great Supper.*

Is this another version of Matt.'s parable of the Marriage Feast (Matt. $22^{2-14}$) or an independent parable? Both refer to the Kingdom, its rejection by those invited, their unworthiness, the taking of their places by the people from the streets: both use the image of a banquet. Matt.'s variations are secondary, belonging rather to the staging than the moral: the host is a king, he invites to his son's marriage feast, his servants are murdered, and he takes a stern revenge. More important is the fact that Matt. adds the incident of the man without a wedding garment. Nevertheless the cumulative effect of the variants is such as to make it impossible to be sure that we have not two separate stories. Hawkins (*Oxford Studies*, p. 127) regards it as 'extremely doubtful' whether the two parables are variants of a single original: see also the remarks of Harnack (*Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 83 ff.) referred to by Hawkins.

Much of the point of the story depends on the fact that the excuses made are plausible, and not merely evasive pretexts. Something has to be given up in response to the divine call, and our Lord once again asserts the necessity of renunciation. The Jew's rejection of God's offer is caused by moral blindness and a perverted scale of values, which does not put the Kingdom first.

It is hardly possible that the people from *outside* the city should not be taken by S. Luke's readers to mean the Gentiles. As the first group of invited persons stands for the Jews who were faithful to the Law, and the 'poor and maimed and blind and lame' for those called 'sinners' by the Pharisees and other strict Jews, so this third class can only represent the outside world of non-Jews. For other occasions when our Lord by His words and acts sanctions the universal mission of Christianity, cf. Lk. $7^{2-10}$ (the centurion), Mk. $7^{24-30}$ (the Syrophoenician woman).

$14^{23}$. *constrain them to come in* (ἀνάγκασον εἰσελθεῖν). A saying which has been used very perversely to justify forcible 'conversion' to Christianity. There is, of course, no hint of this in the text. A single servant sent out to gather in a scattered multitude can only do it by persuasion and appeal.

### VIII. *Discipleship and its Cost* ($14^{25-35}$).

(*a*) Renunciation and the Cross (Q): $14^{25-27}$.
(*b*) Parable of the Tower-builder (L): $14^{28-30}$.
(*c*) Parable of the King going to War (L): $14^{31-33}$.
(*d*) Savourless Salt (Q): $14^{34-35}$.

Great multitudes accompany Jesus, perhaps in expectation of the End and the sudden appearance of God's Kingdom. They are of all degrees of readiness and unreadiness for a share in the Kingdom, with its moral and spiritual demands, and our Lord warns the people of what it means to be a follower of the Messiah, without, however, publicly using the title of Himself.

S. Luke has here combined with two passages from Q two short parables from his special source. The whole section carries on the thought of the preceding parable of the Great Supper. The Kingdom makes great demands on those who are called to enter it; only those are fit to enter it who are willing to count the cost and pay it.

$14^{25-27}$. *Renunciation and the Cross* (Matt. $10^{37-38}$).

In Matt. verses 26–27 appear in the charge to the Twelve, but they are equally appropriate in this context, since the obligations of Christian discipleship are the same for all in their general character. The startling language is deliberate. The solemn assurances given by some commentators that our Lord is not disparaging family affection are wholly unnecessary. Our Lord is insisting in the strongest words He can find that there is literally *nothing*, however good, however dear, which must be allowed to conflict with the claims of God. This is the fundamental basis of human life for all who realize that God exists, and that His love and wisdom are to be depended upon with absolute confidence. If a clash does occur between the claims of God and the claims of men, the acutest suffering may be caused, but the priority of God is inherent in any theistic belief. Neither the family nor the State nor a man's own life can be counted as of prior authority in determining action. Happily the various claims on a man's loyalty are not, for the most part, incompatible one with another. We commonly find our opportunity of serving God and Christ in fulfilling our social and family duties, and in using the talents committed to our charge. But in so far as this is so, it is due to the Christianizing of human society, so that the claims made upon the individual are compatible with his Christianity. Where Christian allegiance conflicts with the family or the State, it is the Christian's bounden duty to be loyal to Christ at whatever cost. Thus, for instance, many Christians hold that war on any terms is forbidden by Christ. Whether this belief is correct or not is another question. But if it is correct, there can be no doubt that the Christian must refuse to bear arms, despite the demands of the State and at whatever cost to himself and his family. For the first Christians, and for Christian converts in heathen lands at all times, the conflict of loyalties has been one of the most practical and urgent of all moral problems.

$14^{26}$. Cf. $9^{61}$ (before the Mission of the 70) and $12^{52}$ (not peace but a sword).

$14^{27}$. Cf. $9^{23}$, where the Marcan source has the parallel. Crucifixion, the Roman method of execution, was a not unfamiliar sight in Palestine: hundreds had been crucified in the rebellion under Judas the Gaulonite (A. D. 6) in Galilee. The disciple of Christ must be ready to die a criminal's death if need be.

$14^{28-33}$. *Parables of the Tower-builder and the King going to War.*

Plummer remarks that it was 'an age of ostentatious building and reckless warfare', and our Lord's illustrations, as always, are drawn from familiar things. He uses them to drive home the lesson that discipleship is arduous and that the would-be disciple must realize what is involved. The merely heedless enthusiast is sure to come to grief. Nothing is said of those who do count the cost and decide that it is too great for them. Compare the story of the rich man in Lk. $18^{18-27}$ (Mk. $10^{17-27}$, Matt. $19^{16-26}$) and the saying with which it ends (v. 27).

Verse 33 is the summary of the whole passage on renunciation rather than the conclusion of the two parables. It is an emphatic repetition of the demand that a man's surrender to the claims of God must be absolute: cf. $12^{33}$ and the note *ad loc.*

$14^{34-35}$. *Savourless Salt* (Matt. $5^{13}$).

In Matt. these sayings are put early in the Sermon on the Mount, immediately after the Beatitudes, and refer generally to the Christian character. S. Luke uses them here with reference to the specific quality of self-renunciation, the essential disposition which underlies all Christian morals. 'Salt' is the Christian spirit of self-sacrificing love, which gives meaning to the Christian name and is the saving and purifying principle in human affairs. A 'Christianity' that lacks it is worthless.

*he that hath ears, &c.* A solemn phrase used to finish a passage and appeal for attention to what has been said: cf. $8^{8}$.

IX. *Parables and Other Sayings* ($15^{1}$–$17^{10}$).

(*a*) The Lost Sheep (Q? or L?): $15^{3-7}$.
(*b*) The Lost Coin (Q? or L?): $15^{8-10}$.
(*c*) The Prodigal Son (L): $15^{11-32}$.
(*d*) The Unjust Steward (L): $16^{1-13}$.
(*e*) Divers Sayings (Q): $16^{14-18}$.
(*f*) Dives and Lazarus (L): $16^{19-31}$.
(*g*) On Offences, On Forgiveness, On Faith (Q): $17^{1-6}$.
(*h*) The Master and his Servant (L): $17^{7-10}$.

Still maintaining a slight framework of narrative, in which the Pharisees have a sinister prominence, S. Luke here introduces some of the greatest treasures of his special source. From now onwards to the end of the Central Section we have a series of parables most, if not all, of which are peculiar to S. Luke. There is some doubt whether the first two parables—the Lost Sheep and the Lost Coin—may not have occurred in Q: Matt. $18^{12-13}$ has a parallel to the story of the Lost Sheep, and though Matt. does not contain the parable of the Lost Coin, it obviously makes a pair with the parable of the Lost Sheep, and the two may have been joined together in Q. If so, it is not clear why Matt. omits one of the pair.

The three parables of ch. 15 make a separate group, but S. Luke goes on to the next parable with practically no break, and the next definite transition is at $17^{11}$.

### $15^{1-32}$. *Three Parables of the Tenderness of God.*

Nowhere in the Gospel is the commentator's assistance less necessary than in this truly marvellous chapter—'evangelium in evangelio', as it has been called. Detailed comment, here unnecessary, will be abandoned, and a general note on the chapter will briefly direct the reader's attention to certain outstanding features.

(1) S. Luke's power as a writer reaches one of its highest points in the parable of the prodigal son. In a story of this length it is most unlikely that the precise language in which our Lord told the story should have been preserved in every detail. Though tradition would be tenacious of the subject-matter and many of the phrases used by our Lord, S. Luke is telling the story in his own Greek, and, as in the narrative of the Annunciation, we intuitively perceive a creative artist in words triumphantly carrying out a task which has awakened all his powers. It is no small achievement on the part of one who had not himself heard Jesus to reproduce so adequately the effortless perfection of our Lord's vivid story-telling, and to retain without a single slip in judgement and taste the deep and yet virile tenderness of the original. Modern ideas of inspiration are naturally affected by the abandonment of the older theory of verbal inspiration; but nowhere is it more apparent that the notion of inspiration still holds as the only satisfactory way of accounting for the Gospel narratives.

(2) The three stories are told to Pharisees, and they have the same point, the joyful and loving forgiveness of God towards sinners bewildered, unwitting, or deliberate. It is here that the weakness of the rabbinical religion of official Judaism was most apparent. Those called 'sinners', the outcast masses of common folk, were left to their own devices, though the synagogues welcomed repentant sinners. 'There was', says Dr. Abrahams, 'in the Pharisaism of all ages a real anxiety to make the return of the sinner easy', but, 'it was inclined to leave the initiative to the

sinner, except that it always maintained God's readiness to take the first step' (*Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, i. 58). What our Lord taught and did went beyond this, as Jewish scholars like Dr. Abrahams and Dr. Montefiore admit. He sought the sinners, consorted with them, ate with them, instead of avoiding and despising them; and He did so because He had a vision of God to which Pharisaism was largely blind, and of which these parables are evidence.

(3) The fascination of these stories is due not only to the good news they contain, and the transparent simplicity which they share with all the greatest art, and which gives them a universal appeal unaffected by time and change. The homeliness of these domestic episodes is entirely free from the crudity and sentimentality which so often beset stories of commonplace things. The straightforwardness and economy of the first two stories are admirably effective; but it is in the more detailed parable that follows, with its heightened emotional tone and wider range of light and shade, that we find the most striking evidence of a consummate delicacy and sureness, for here the spare, muscular style marvellously combines with a warmth of feeling that no amount of romantic colouring could intensify. The apparent slightness and yet actual power of the touches which go to create the portrait of the father are particularly noteworthy—his grave patience and unfaltering justice and generosity in his treatment of his two sons (vv. 12, 31); the dignity and firmness of a man who rules his household well (v. 17), cherishes no resentment (v. 20), and shows no impatience or favouritism (vv. 28, 31); and his warm heart and unaffected joy, manifested in the marks of honour he spontaneously confers upon his younger son on his return (vv. 22, 32: best robe, ring, and shoes are not necessities, but honours).

(4) The ninety and nine, the nine pieces of silver, the elder son are not the centres of interest in the stories, and their position is of artistic necessity left vague. But it is significant that in each story just sufficient is said to prevent the contrasts from being too violent and unsatisfying. The flock is not neglected, but remains in its accustomed pasture: 'wilderness' is, of course, not desert, but the ordinary moorland pasture. The nine pieces of silver are safe in the woman's possession. And even the unsympathetic elder brother, whose final attitude is not described, is assured by his father, 'Son, thou art ever with me, and all that is

mine is thine'. His cold punctiliousness, even his sour resentment, do not alter his father's loving patience towards him.

### $16^{1-13}$. *The Unjust Steward.*

It is probably vain to seek any closer connexion with what has gone before than the fact that again we have a parable and again it has reference to Pharisees (v. 14). S. Luke is clearly hard pressed at times to find a satisfactory position for the material he has collected: see below, $16^{14-18}$.

This parable is often regarded as difficult, and Plummer has an interesting note on the confusion which has been caused by the 'voluminous and unrepaying' literature on the subject (Plummer, *op. cit.*, pp. 380–381). All the difficulty is caused by neglect of the cardinal principle of parable-interpretation, which is that the parable is a story with a moral, not an allegory in which each detail has symbolic value. Much of the detail that gives interest and colour to the story has no bearing whatever on the essential ethical lesson which the story as a whole is meant to enforce. The story, as a story, has its own interest and its own standards of effectiveness: provided they do not blur or distort the moral, the details of the story-teller's picture can be what he chooses to make them. There is no real difficulty in discovering that the lesson inculcated by this parable is that men are more keen about their material than their spiritual welfare, and that some of the ingenuity and acumen they use in business ought to be devoted to the more important matters of eternal life. The steward's knavery, necessary for the development of the story, has no relevance to the moral: it is not his unscrupulousness but his intelligence which his lord commends. If we had the original context in which our Lord told this tale, we might find still more instruction in it: but, as we have it, the parable has a perfectly plain and extremely valuable point. Sanctified common sense is a precious and not too common virtue. The sayings which follow the parable, giving various reflections on the use of material goods, are collected here by S. Luke as throwing further light on our Lord's teaching about the management of worldly affairs.

$16^{8}$. How did the lord know of his ex-steward's ingenious trick in buying his own security with his master's property? It is an admirable feature of the story that it leaves the answer to the listener's imagination, since it makes no difference how the information leaked out. One may imagine that when the accounts came to be made out, it was discovered that there was the discrepancy, and the owner perceived what had happened.

*wisely*: φρονίμως. The word in Greek is used of the practical intelligence employed in the shrewd judgement of men and things. In Aristotle's *Ethics* the noun φρόνησις is almost a technical term for this quality as distinguished from the σοφία of the philosophic sage.

*for their own generation* (εἰς τὴν γενεὰν τὴν ἑαυτῶν). 'For' means 'towards', 'in relation to' in this phrase. Men of worldly wisdom exercise their wits to the full in their business dealings with each other: the 'sons of the light' (cf. John $12^{36}$) need to learn the lesson of taking every opportunity of advancing their eternal welfare.

$16^{9}$. *mammon of unrighteousness*: a phrase apparently borrowed from the apocalyptic book of Enoch $53^{10}$: 'our souls are satisfied with the mammon of unrighteousness, but this does not prevent us from descending into the flame of the pain of Sheol'. S. Augustine notes that the word 'mammon' is used for 'wealth' (*lucrum*) in Punic, the language of Carthage, which still lingered in northern Africa. It seems to be called the 'mammon of unrighteousness' because wealth is notoriously a moral danger and is often obtained and used wrongly. The thought of the verse is paralleled by a rabbinical saying, 'the rich help the poor in this world, but the poor help the rich in the world to come'.

*when it shall fail* (ὅταν ἐκλίπῃ). So the majority of manuscripts. Some scholars read ἐκλίπητε, 'when ye die', found in some manuscripts, and implied in most of the Latin versions and one Syriac version.

*they may receive*. This may be either impersonal (=that you may be received) or the friends won by the generous use of wealth may be regarded as 'introducing' the rich, or perhaps 'welcoming' them into heaven.

$16^{10-12}$. Sayings about the use of earthly things in relation to the ultimate spiritual destiny of man. The familiar Christian thought that this life is a training-ground for the fuller life that follows it is implied in this passage. Fidelity in the responsibilities of this life is a means of training moral personality, which alone can inherit the riches of eternal life.

$16^{13}$. Another saying, this time from Q (Matt. $6^{24}$), rounds off the group. In Matt. it occurs in the Sermon on the Mount. Allegiance cannot be divided between avarice and God. 'It is morally impossible, for each claims undivided service. Mammon is here personified as a deity, devotion to whom is shown in "covetousness which is idolatry" (Col. iii. 5). No vice is more exacting than avarice' (Plummer).

$16^{14\text{-}18}$. *Divers Sayings.*

The main thought is again the use of wealth, and verses 14, 15 (Lk. only) form a natural introduction to the parable of Dives and Lazarus. But what are we to make of the three verses, derived from Q, which follow? Their place in this context seems inexplicable. A connexion of a kind can be read into them, and it would be possible to paraphrase thus: 'Pharisaism is doomed because of its false standards. A new era has begun with the coming of the Gospel of the Kingdom, and Pharisaic legalism is being deserted. Yet the moral law itself, being divine, is not abrogated; it passes over into the new order, freed from the burdensome pedantries of Pharisaism, and recreated in the form of even higher moral ideals. Thus, for instance, the Mosaic law allowed divorce: but the law of the Kingdom upholds the original divine standard of indissoluble marriage.' Such an interpretation, however, is desperately artificial, and, even if S. Luke intended it, it destroys entirely the sequence of thought between verse 14 and the parable. It is better not to force an explanation upon the words, but to take these verses as isolated sayings (which may nevertheless be fragments of a single discourse) which S. Luke put in here because they were associated with the general subject of Pharisaism. There was only a relatively small quantity of sayings which he could assign to a definite time and place, and this left him with many problems of arrangement. For the most part his arrangement of his material is masterly; but in this passage we had better admit frankly that for once he, like the good Homer, nods, and that he has put these three verses into a position where they are out of place.

$16^{14}$. The controversy with Pharisaism takes on a fresh aspect, in that covetousness is charged against it; but verse 15 recalls the earlier accusations of a complacent arrogance. The Pharisees were very well satisfied with themselves, and in particular with their wealth, which they regarded as a reward of virtue.

$16^{16}$. *every man entereth violently into it* (πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται). Cf. Matt. $11^{12,13}$. The exact meaning of this saying is difficult to determine in the absence of any certainty about its original context. The most natural interpretation, in view of the contrast with the passing of the pre-Christian dispensation, seems to be that people of all kinds are eagerly forcing their way in—a reference to the crowds which gathered round Jesus with unceremonious enthusiasm: cf. 15[1]. But the verb may imply not forcible seizure, but violent opposition, and some think it refers to the ill-treatment of Christ and His immediate followers, or more generally to the Pharisaic attempts to crush the new movement, or again to the Pharisees' demand to have the privileges of the Kingdom for themselves on their own conditions.

16[17]. Cf. Matt. 5[17-20] where our Lord's attitude to 'the law and the prophets' is made clear: He 'came not to destroy, but to fulfil'. There can be little doubt that the passage correctly summarizes the historical teaching of Jesus on His relation to the religion of His people. For Him the Law was divinely given, but it was not irreformable. In some things it was defective as a mirror of the Divine Will, being adapted to the hardness of men's hearts. In His treatment of the laws against murder and adultery, of divorce, of the Sabbath, and in His opposition to Pharisaic formalism and legalism generally, He was introducing far-reaching changes, but they were not antinomian. Rather they required a much more searching obedience, 'exceeding the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees', and in the deepest sense fulfilled the Law. Canon Streeter's phrase, 'a constructive revolutionary', aptly describes our Lord in His attitude to the Law.

16[18]. The question of divorce has practical urgency in all societies, and the interpretation of the Mosaic law was much discussed by the rabbis. In Deut. 24[1] the Law allows divorce of a wife, 'if she find no favour' in her husband's eyes, 'because he hath found some unseemly thing in her'. This was extremely vague, and two opposing views of its meaning came to be held. One, associated with the name of an eminent Pharisaic doctor Shammai, held that 'unseemliness' meant infidelity, and that this was the only lawful ground for divorce. The other view, that of another famous Pharisee, Hillel, and his followers, was much more lax, and was prepared to recognize divorce for practically any cause: Hillel is said to have taught that a man could divorce his wife for failing to cook his dinner satisfactorily.

These views were current in our Lord's time. His own teaching on the subject appears both in Q and in Mk. (see Matt. 5[31-32], Mk. 10[2-12]). In Mk., as in Lk., divorce is absolutely prohibited on the ground that the will of God is permanent indissoluble marriage: but in Matt.'s version of Q an exception is made, and divorce is allowed 'for the cause of fornication'.[1] The question therefore arises, Did our Lord abrogate the Mosaic law and forbid divorce altogether, or did He simply side with the Shammaite school in their disagreement with the school of Hillel? The question cannot be fully discussed here, but it may be said that the evidence appears to leave little doubt that Mk. and Lk. give our Lord's teaching correctly, and that 'the Matthaean modifications reflect the standpoint of a Jewish Christianity which could not bring itself to believe that Jesus had really been stricter than even the strictest school of rabbinical exegetes, or had taken up a position which virtually abrogated a Pentateuchal law' (Rawlinson, *Commentary on St. Mark*, p. 134 n.). For a different view see Charles, *Teaching of the New Testament on Divorce*, and the reply by Box and Gore, *Divorce in the New Testament*: and see also the excellent treatment of the subject by Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–135.

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[1] In *Theology*, February 1928, Dr. F. Gavin, in a learned argument, points out that in Acts $15^{20,29}$ *πορνεία* (translated in the Gospel prohibitions of divorce as 'fornication') may mean 'incest', i.e. marriage within the prohibited degrees: so Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum N.T.*, vol. ii, p. 729. In 1 Cor. $5^{1\text{ff.}}$ the offence described as *πορνεία* is certainly incest. He suggests that this is the meaning in the Matthaean exception, and that the gloss crept into the text of Matt. 'meaning, to the glossator's mind, the obvious preclusion of the maintenance of a marital relationship if the woman shall have been discovered to be . . . one forbidden by reason of the incestuous degrees of Lev. xviii. 6–18', i.e. if the marriage was no true marriage but null and void from the start. The Matthaean 'exception' is then not really an exception, and does not allow divorce: for only the legally married can be divorced. The difficulty of this view is that, while *πορνεία* may mean 'incest', it commonly has a wider sense, 'unchastity': and an exception to a rule in the terms *παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας* (Matt. $5^{32}$; cf. *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*, Matt. $19^{9}$) would not naturally mean 'unless the marriage is incestuous', especially to any one familiar with the difference between Shammaites and Hillelites concerning the interpretation of Deut. $24^{1}$. Any one sufficiently familiar with rabbinical discussions and sufficiently punctilious about exact statement to feel it desirable that marriage within the prohibited degrees of Lev. 18 should be specifically excluded from our Lord's prohibition of divorce could hardly have been unfamiliar with the fact that *λόγου πορνείας* exactly expresses the Shammaite interpretation of 'shameful thing' in Deut. 24, and that, as Dr. Gavin says, the meaning *incest* is definitely precluded in the discussion between Shammaites and Hillelites in the relevant passages of the Mishnah and the Talmud.

$16^{19-31}$. *Dives and Lazarus.*

The collection of sayings about wealth is concluded with a parable peculiar to S. Luke. The story conveys a lesson which supplements the moral of the parable of the Unjust Steward. The steward made provision for his future and escaped the penalties of his dismissal: here the rich man, having lost the sense of God's existence through misuse of wealth and opportunity, is in misery after death. He might have made of Lazarus one of the 'friends' who could 'welcome him into the eternal tabernacles', but failing to do so he went to the place of torment which he had earned for himself by his selfish enjoyment of his riches. The story has a second part in which the rich man asks in vain for a special revelation to his five brothers, that they may avoid his fate: he is told that if (through the deadening of their sense of God by Mammon-worship) they will not listen to Moses and the prophets, a miracle is not likely to help them.

It is again important not to press the parable beyond its purpose, which is to enforce the moral lesson elsewhere conveyed in the saying, 'What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world and forfeit his life?' Our Lord is not here breaking the reserve with which He usually speaks of the life after death and giving detailed information about the condition of souls in the next world. He is content to use the familiar picture-language of popular imagination for the purpose of His story. He certainly takes it for granted that physical death is not the end of a man's career, and that our life in this world will have consequences in the next. So much is implied in the fact that He can tell the story at all. But it is obviously impossible to take the material of the parable and turn it into a systematic description of the after-life. Hades, Abraham's bosom, the great gulf, the tormenting fire, are figurative phrases of folk-poetry, used in what Plato would have called a 'myth', a tale which suggests what cannot be expressed in set terms, because the subject-matter is beyond the scope of human intelligence and human knowledge during this life. Indeed, our Lord seems to have based His parable on a familiar story then current: the evidence is set forth by H. Gressmann (*Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus*, Berlin, 1918). Much is left without even a hint. We are told nothing of the fate of the good rich or the wicked poor: Abraham's reply to Dives (v. 25) cannot be supposed to mean that our Lord taught that irregularities in earthly comfort are made up afterwards by a simple reversal, for temporal riches and eternal bliss are incommensurable. It is idle to ask whether Dives is in temporary and remedial, or in unending and penal, torment, in 'Purgatory' or in 'Hell'. These distinctions belong to a later period of Christian thought, though the idea of remedial suffering after death was not unknown in Greek religion, and was adopted by Pythagoras and Plato.

$16^{20}$. *Lazarus.* Nowhere else does our Lord give a name to a character in a parable. The name here (Eleazar, 'God is his help') may have been given because of its meaning. Attempts have been made to identify Lazarus with some historical person, but they have been wasted efforts. Plummer thinks that possibly the name is a later addition to connect it with Lazarus of Bethany.

$16^{22}$. *Abraham's bosom.* The image is derived from the custom of reclining on couches at meals. The celestial banquet was a common rabbinical symbol. 'The disciple whom Jesus loved' reclined 'in Jesus' bosom' at the Last Supper (John $13^{23}$).

$16^{23}$. *Hades.* In the Greek-speaking world generally, Hades is the abode of the departed, to which good and bad go indifferently. It thus corresponds roughly to the Sheol of the O.T. But with the amplified eschatology of the apocalyptic writers, and the idea of a resurrection of the good and rewards and punishments in the next world, we get a conception of Hades or Sheol as the permanent abode of the wicked (so in Enoch). It thus approximates to the idea of Gehenna, the place of torment for the wicked, and seems to be used in that sense here. In the Talmud Sheol and Gehenna are identified. But the language of popular eschatology is never precise, and the two distinct ideas of Hades lived on side by side. The ambiguity survives in the English word 'hell' which, in the apostles' creed, is used of the place of the departed (in the Latin 'inferna' or 'inferi'), but also and more frequently means the state of the lost.

$16^{27}$. The suggestion has been made that the Johannine story of the raising of Lazarus has grown out of the second half of this parable. This remains a mere guess: it is equally possible that the name Lazarus got into the parable from the story of the miracle.

$16^{28}$. Fanciful interpretations of the 'five brethren' have been given, as, e.g., that they stand for the Herods. There is no reason to suppose that they stand for anything but the unheeding Jews, who do not use their present opportunities. The point of the parable throughout is to urge people to think of the tremendous issues involved in their lives, and to use every effort to 'work out their own salvation' by right living and the service of others.

$16^{31}$. The unbelieving Jews were not persuaded when Christ rose from the dead, and we may take it that S. Luke and his readers were very conscious of how this saying found actual confirmation from events. But it is not necessary to suppose on this account that the second half of the parable is a later Christian addition to the original story.

Our Lord's rejection of the demand for 'a sign' is again apparent. He does not seek a forced surrender, without the moral assent of a rightly directed will.

$17^{1-6}$. *On Offences, On Forgiveness, On Faith.*

S. Luke here introduces three sayings from Q, where he probably found them together. They are disconnected, though it is possible that S. Luke may have been induced to put them here because the first has the same thought of moral responsibility as the preceding parables.

$17^{1-2}$. Cf. Matt. $18^{6,7}$, where these sayings, differently worded, occur in the story of how our Lord took a little child as a pattern of humility. The reference to 'little ones' in S. Luke's record has not the same point as in Matt.'s arrangement, and must be taken to mean the weak who are easily led astray. Our Lord is teaching that it is humanly impossible that we should escape circumstances where a wrong choice may do harm to others, that the responsibility for what happens if we do choose wrongly is ours, and that anything is better than the guilt of wrongdoing. These sayings appear also in the Marcan tradition: Mk. $9^{42}$.

$17^{3-4}$. Cf. the much longer passage Matt. $18^{15-35}$, where the first evangelist has collected several utterances on the same subject of forgiveness. Forgiveness is conditional on repentance, because it is essentially the restoration of right relations: if the wrongdoer persists in dissension, the injured person may have the will, but he has not the power, to make forgiveness actual.

Numbers have had a strange fascination for mankind, and so-called 'mystical' meanings have been attached to them. In this symbolism 'seven' is the complete or perfect number. In the Matthaean parallel 'seventy times seven' expresses the idea of the absolutely limitless. Later Judaism carried this number-symbolism to fantastic lengths, and associated it with magic.

$17^{5-6}$. Cf. Matt. $17^{20}$ and Mk. $11^{23}$. S. Luke has a 'sycamine tree' instead of the 'mountain' of these other two evangelists: Mk. and the parallel in Matt. $21^{21}$ connect the saying with the withering of the fig tree. 'Removing mountains' was apparently a proverbial expression used in Jewish writings of teachers who satisfactorily cleared up difficulties or reconciled contradictions in the scriptures. It may be that S. Luke was unaware of the metaphor, and sought to soften the supposed hyperbole by substituting a tree: or the tradition may have reached him already in the different form. The sycamine is either the black mulberry or a kind of fig.

### $17^{7-10}$. *The Master and his Servant.*

The parable is an uncompromising assertion of the truth that the relation of Creator and creature is one of absolute authority and absolute dependence; a truth just as necessary for men and every whit as true as the complementary truths of God's loving patience and mercy and graciousness. The parable is peculiar to S. Luke, and may be put in here as a corrective of any self-confidence that might be fostered by the consciousness of the power of faith. If by faith we can do great things, the power is not our own; it is lent to us by the sole Source of power, and no merit accrues to us from the use of it. Rather we are unprofitable, since we cannot bring gain to God: He only receives His own again. The complementary teaching is given in Lk. $12^{37}$, where the lord waits on his faithful servants. There is, of course, no contradiction. God's love of men leads Him to show favour and kindness to them, but it is all of His free gift.

Our Lord again uses the facts of common life as His material, without necessarily endorsing them; here, what must have been a treatment of slaves which no one would have dreamed of questioning. The familiar *a fortiori* argument is implied—if the ordinary householder expects as of right the services of his slaves, how much more has God the right to require the services of His creatures!

$17^{10}$. *unprofitable* (ἀχρεῖοι). Omitted by the Sinaitic Syriac MS., followed by some modern editors.

### X. *A Miracle and further Sayings and Parables* ($17^{11}$–$18^{14}$).

(*a*) The Ten Lepers (L): $17^{11-19}$.
(*b*) The Coming of the Son of Man (Q): $17^{20-37}$.
(*c*) The Unjust Judge (L): $18^{1-8}$.
(*d*) The Pharisee and the Publican (L): $18^{9-14}$.

S. Luke introduces this last portion of the Central Section by a narrative passage to keep the reader in touch with the background of events against which the teachings of Jesus are to be seen. He very skilfully maintains the sombre undertone of the tragic purpose which is to be fulfilled in Jerusalem.

### $17^{11-19}$. *The Ten Lepers.*

This narrative is so characteristically Lucan in style that Stanton (*Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii. 229) counts it as one of four passages in which S. Luke is certainly using his own words. We have already had a healing of a leper in $5^{12-14}$. In the healing of the Ten there is no mention of Jesus laying His hands upon them.

$17^{11}$. *through the midst* (διὰ μέσον). The English is misleading: the Greek means 'between'. Our Lord is represented as travelling along the border of Samaria and Galilee. The vagueness of the geographical setting of these chapters is well illustrated both by the indefiniteness of the expression and by the fact that our Lord is said to be farther north than He was when 'on his way through cities and villages, teaching and journeying on unto Jerusalem' ($13^{22}$).

$17^{12}$. *afar off*: as they were normally compelled to do because of their disease, which cut them off from contact with non-lepers.

$17^{14}$. Cf. $5^{14}$: as before, to get a certificate of cleansing from the priests. The Samaritan would presumably go to his own Sanctuary on Mount Gerizim.

$17^{19}$. *thy faith hath made thee whole.* It does not appear whether this implies something more than his bodily healing. All the ten had gone away in faith that the Master's word was sufficient, and all had been cured partly through this faith. In any case the grateful 'stranger' receives the additional happiness of our Lord's kindly assurance.

We may suppose that S. Luke would cherish this appreciation of Christ by one whom Jews regarded as next door to a heathen, in contrast with the ingratitude of the Jews.

### $17^{20-37}$. *The Coming of the Kingdom and the Son of Man.*

The document Q, it seems, as well as Mk., contained a 'little apocalypse', a discourse purporting to give our Lord's forecast of the coming of the Son of man and the end of the existing order of things. The substance of Mk. 13 appears in Lk. 21, and in the passage now under consideration we have the 'apocalypse of Q'. 'The whole section 22–37 is obviously a solid piece of Q' according to Streeter (*Oxford Studies*, p. 201). Matt. seems to have combined the two apocalypses, amplifying the 'little apocalypse' of Mk. 13 by the addition of Q sayings: see Matt. $24^{25-28,37-41}$.

We have already considered some of the eschatological sayings in the notes on the Kingdom of God, the Son of man, and the Imminence of the Kingdom. Further discussion will be found in the essay on Lucan eschatology where the Parousia or Return of Christ is briefly considered in the light of Lk. 21.

$17^{20-21}$. S. Luke introduces the apocalyptic passage with a question addressed by Pharisees to Jesus. His answer is the strongest assertion to be found in the synoptic Gospels of the invisible spiritual nature of the Reign of God. We have already seen that popular expectation was affected by apocalyptic language which spoke of a great external and visible catastrophe ushering in the Kingdom in the more or less immediate future, and that our Lord corrected this notion by His teaching that the Reign of God, the Messianic age, had already begun with Himself and His disciples: at the same time He too looked forward to a future event when He should return and the full triumph of God would be made manifest. The present beginnings and the future consummation have external and visible features; they both turn on comings of the Son of God, first as the Man of Nazareth and then as the King of Glory. But they are essentially spiritual. The Reign of God is in the hearts of men. The coming of the Kingdom—and observe that our Lord tacitly refuses to fix a time—is not after the manner of Pharisaic imaginings, 'as you hope to catch sight of it' (*μετὰ παρατηρήσεως*: Moffatt's translation).

A tantalizing difficulty arises in connexion with the positive statement that follows. Scholars are divided about the meaning of what appears in R.V. as 'the Kingdom of God is within you'. The Greek phrase *ἐντὸς ὑμῶν* might mean either 'within you' or 'in your midst'. The Sinaitic Syriac MS. has 'among'. One very perverse objection to the R.V. is that 'you' must refer to the hostile Pharisees, and therefore our Lord could not have meant 'within you'. 'You' is obviously employed colloquially, meaning 'men', 'those to whom it comes'. The shift of attention from any exclusive concern with the Pharisaic questioners is sufficiently indicated by the 'impersonal' *ἐροῦσι* (shall they say): and if 'you' is to mean the Pharisees, 'in your midst' would be a strange way of speaking of publicans and sinners and Galilean peasants, the citizens of the Kingdom, who are hardly 'in the midst' of the Pharisees.

'Within you' gives the better sense, and the only real objection comes from the thoroughgoing eschatologists. Those who believe that our Lord's eschatology was but little different from the common views of the time are naturally in difficulties with the statement that the Kingdom is 'within you'. 'In your midst' is only slightly less objectionable, however, and some even try to show that Jesus meant only that it was imminent, 'upon you'. This is merely to strain the Greek in the interests of a preconceived theory.

There is no critical ground for supposing that the saying (found in Lk. only) is less authentic than any other of the eschatological sayings.

Whether we take *ἐντὸς ὑμῶν* as 'within you' or 'in your midst', it should be observed that the spiritual nature of the Kingdom is the point emphasized: for if our Lord means no more than to say 'the Reign of God is already here among men', He can only be referring to that spiritual movement which He inaugurated, without either the armies of the warrior-king Messiah or the earth-shattering terrors of the Enochian 'Son of man'.

$17^{22-37}$. The apocalyptic discourse is addressed to the disciples. It shows signs of being composite, a collection of sayings uttered at different times and put together in Q. Verse 23 appears in the Marcan apocalypse in a warning against 'false Christs and false prophets': verse 25 breaks the sequence abruptly and looks like an interpolation from some other saying of our Lord's about the End: verse 33 repeats $9^{24}$ in a slightly changed form. But the whole passage is concerned with the sudden and unexpected character of the final 'revealing' of the Son of man. It is in strong contrast to the elaborate panorama of future events spread out in the Marcan apocalypse.

$17^{22}$. Longing for the End which does not come. The thought of this verse is in entire accord with our Lord's reserve about the time of the Parousia, which He expressly says He does not know (in Mk. $13^{32}$). Here He seems to contemplate an interval of unknown length between His Passion and His Return. 'One of the days' seems to mean 'even one day': Plummer notes 'the possibility of taking the expression as a Hebraism, "one" being used for "first", as in *μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων* (Mk. xvi. 2)'.

$17^{23-24}$. Do not be misled: when the End comes, it will come suddenly, and beyond all possibility of doubt. No report of it will be necessary. Verse 23 has a parallel in Mk. $13^{21}$: this is one of the cases where Q and Mk. overlap. Matt. discards Q here, following the Marcan record and keeping the Marcan context.

$17^{25}$. This is the third prediction of the Passion, but it may be displaced here: the other passages are $9^{22}$, $9^{44}$, $18^{31-33}$.

$17^{26-30}$. An unsuspecting world will be going about its ordinary business when the Day comes. The familiar stories in Genesis illustrate a world deeply absorbed in the affairs of this life and suddenly brought sharply up against a tremendous crisis.

$17^{31-33}$. Preoccupation with worldly goods is again prominent, but there seems to be a change in the underlying thought. We seem to be presented not with the End of this world, but with some earthly catastrophe from which it is possible to escape if, unlike Lot's wife, one does not look back reluctantly to one's possessions, but concentrates entirely on getting away alive. One of the many difficulties of the Gospel eschatology is to explain the fact that the downfall of Jerusalem is somehow connected with the prophecies of the End: see the similar passages in Mk. $13^{14-16}$, Matt. $24^{15-18}$. It may be that this verse refers to escape from the doomed city. The problem will be discussed later in the essay on Lucan eschatology. Verse 33 is a doublet of Lk. $9^{24}$: 'gain' (*περιποιήσασθαι*), i.e. keep for himself; 'preserve' (*ζωογονήσει*), i.e. keep, or make, alive.

$17^{34-35}$. The dissolution of earthly conditions will be complete, and the reversal of circumstances may be startling. Everything will turn on the moral fitness of the individual for the new order, so that the closest comrades may find themselves parted.

The verse numbered 36 in A.V. is omitted by the Revisers because it is wanting in the best manuscripts.: it was probably added from Matt. $24^{40}$. It is found in Codex Bezae (D), and in the Latin and Syriac versions.

$17^{37}$. *Where, Lord?* i.e. where will all this happen? Our Lord refuses to specify either time or place. Instead He quotes what apparently is a proverb: just as the vultures infallibly arrive where a dead body lies, so will doom infallibly fall on those who are 'left' (i.e. to their fate) and not 'taken' (i.e. among the saved) in the final judgement at the Last Day. Where corruption is, there judgement will fall: there will be no evading the facts.

### $18^{1-8}$. *The Unjust Judge.*

This parable and the one which follows are both taken by S. Luke to inculcate moral lessons, the duty of persistent prayer and the duty of humility. Yet the first seems to have an eschatological reference: the speedy vindication of God's people and the coming of the Son of man are apparently identified, and this, rather than an exhortation to persevere in prayer, is the conclusion stressed at the end of the parable. Hence the explanatory gloss in verse 1 seems to dwell on a subordinate lesson, perhaps because of the marked interest which S. Luke had in the subject of prayer: the major point connects the parable with the preceding passage.

The parable is a particularly good example of our Lord's use of the *a fortiori* argument which we have noticed before. If an unjust judge can be prevailed upon to succour the helpless by importunity, how much more will the righteous God come to the aid of His suffering children in answer to their prayers. The absurdity of trying to find a spiritual parallel to every detail of the story could not be better illustrated than from this use of a corrupt judge, who 'feared not God and regarded not man', to enforce a lesson about God.

$18^{3}$. *a widow*. The typically helpless. The oppression of widows is often denounced in O.T.

$18^{5}$. *wear me out*: ὑπωπιάζῃ, a word which originally means 'hit me in the eye', and is so taken here by some editors. More probably metaphorical, 'cause me great annoyance': S. Paul uses the word of 'buffeting' his body by stern self-discipline (1 Cor. $9^{27}$). There may be an ironical reference to the teaching of some rabbis that God is not to be pestered with too many prayers and that three times a day is enough.

$18^{7}$. *avenge his elect* (ποιήσῃ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν). The 'avenging' consists in preserving or rescuing from evil: the 'elect' is a word used of the Jewish people, 'chosen' for a special mission, and then of Christians as inheritors of the Kingdom.

*and he is long-suffering over them* (καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς). An obscure sentence in this context. μακροθυμεῖν means 'to be slow to anger, patient' or sometimes 'to delay'. Here the idea seems to be that God is not impatient with His people, as the judge was with the widow: or it may mean 'though He delays the answer to their prayer', the co-ordinate clause being used where English idiom would prefer a subordinate.

$18^{8}$. The Parousia is certain: the only doubt is of men's condition when the Son of man comes. Again a warning to be prepared to receive Him. It should be noticed that throughout these eschatological sayings two things have been emphasized: (1) God has a definite purpose in history which will certainly be fulfilled in His own time; the world has a meaning and exists for the production of certain results. (2) The all-important concern of the individual is to fit in with that purpose and to be ready for its fulfilment. Nothing is comparable in importance to this.

### $18^{9-14}$. *The Pharisee and the Publican.*

This parable is connected with the last, in that it also deals with prayer, though from a different point of view. Its great spiritual beauty and penetration have made it one of the best known of our Lord's parables. There is nothing to show the occasion when it was uttered.

$18^{10}$. *into the temple.* There are several passages in the N.T. which show that the Temple was used for private prayer as well as for the official sacrifices: see Lk. $2^{27}$, $2^{37}$ (Simeon and Anna), $24^{53}$ (the apostolic group after the Ascension), Acts $2^{46}$ (early Jerusalem church), $3^{1}$ (Peter and John).

$18^{11}$. *stood.* The ordinary posture for prayer among the Jews and in the ancient world generally. Our Lord knelt in Gethsemane (Lk. $22^{41}$). In Acts Stephen, Peter, Paul and others kneel to pray (Acts $7^{60}$, $9^{40}$, $20^{36}$).

$18^{12}$. These practices of devotion are voluntarily undertaken. The Law prescribed fasting only on the Day of Atonement, but some Jews observed Mondays and Thursdays as fast days, being the days on which tradition said Moses had ascended and descended Mount Sinai. Only the specially devout observed these weekly fasts. Again, 'mint, anise, and cummin', garden herbs, were tithed by Pharisees, going beyond the requirements of the Law, which did not require tithes of such trifling produce, but, according to the usual interpretation, only of the main crops.

$18^{14}$. *justified* (δεδικαιωμένος). S. Paul's familiar word, though there is nothing specifically 'Pauline' in its use here, since justification *through Christ* does not enter into this story. S. Luke points the moral by rounding off the story with the saying used before in $14^{11}$.

## $18^{15}$–$19^{28}$. ON THE ROAD TO JERUSALEM

### $18^{15-43}$. *Incidents on the Journey.*

S. Luke now returns to Mk. as his source, and for the rest of this chapter we have a continuation of the travel narrative based on Mk. $10^{13-52}$. 'S. Luke's version is Mk. with commentary'

(V. Taylor). In this section he carries the story up to our Lord's entrance into Jericho.

There are four episodes: (*a*) Blessing the Children, 15–17; (*b*) the Rich Ruler, 18–30; (*c*) Fourth Prediction of the Passion, 31–34; (*d*) Healing of a Blind Beggar, 35–43.

$18^{15-17}$. *Blessing the Children* (Mk. $10^{13-16}$, Matt. $19^{13-15}$).

Compare $9^{48}$, $7^{32}$ for our Lord's interest in children. S. Luke omits as derogatory Mk's reference to our Lord's indignation at the disciples' rebuke, when the people bring their children for 'the touch of the great wonder-working Prophet, which would be regarded as carrying with it a blessing, exactly as Italian peasants to-day bring their little ones to receive the blessing of a Cardinal' (Rawlinson). The disciples presumably wished to save their Master from what they regarded as unnecessary trouble.

The childlike qualities which our Lord seems to be thinking of here, and which qualify for 'receiving the Kingdom of God', are trustful dependence on the Father, unpretentiousness, receptivity: children have the unself-conscious humility which is willing to take what is given quite frankly and simply. H. G. Wood and Burkitt both remark on the difficulty of finding in ancient literature any parallel to our Lord's attitude to children.

$18^{18-30}$. *The Rich Ruler* (Mk. $10^{17-31}$, Matt. $19^{16-30}$).

Matt. says the rich man was young, which is not likely if Lk. is right here in calling him a 'ruler', i.e. of the local synagogue: but Mk. presents a character which has all the impulsiveness of youth. S. Luke unfortunately omits some of the picturesque detail of his source, 'there ran one to him and kneeled to him' and 'Jesus looking upon him loved him'. The second of these statements is almost necessary for the full appreciation of this moving incident. The man comes, enthusiastic and with an eager, not insincere flattery: he feels that something more is demanded of him than the ordinary goodness of law-abiding respectable life, and he dimly sees that this something more is for him the way to 'eternal life', the Kingdom of God. Jesus checks his effusiveness, but takes to him at once. And He offers the man the chance of that moral heroism which is the true vocation he is feeling after: let him join the group of Jesus' companions, but let him remember that it means giving up everything.

$18^{19}$. *Why callest thou me good?* (*Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν;*). The emphasis lies on 'good', not on 'me'. It does not seem possible to explain this passage (with many of the Fathers, e.g. S. Cyril, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome) as an indirect assertion by our Lord of His divinity: such an assertion on such an occasion as this is quite foreign to the synoptic Christ. It is equally impossible to take it as Montefiore does, and infer that Jesus admits to being a sinful man like any other: nowhere in the Gospels is there any sign that Jesus had that sense of sin which has characterized even the holiest of His followers. Both these interpretations miss the real point, which is well expressed by H. G. Wood (followed by Rawlinson): this saying is 'the expression of that humility which was part of the moral perfection of Jesus'. Of all men Jesus would be the last to accept complacently a piece of flattery, however well meant. He knew Himself to be the Son of God, but He knew equally that in all things He was dependent on His Father, who is the source of all goodness, and alone to be addressed as such. The rich man comes to one whom he regards as one of the rabbis with the language of the courtier. It is not incompatible with our Lord's moral perfection, it is actually required by that moral perfection, that He should decline for Himself as man 'the ascription to Himself personally of merit, as it were, in independence of God' (Rawlinson). Note that already in Matt. the difficulty of the saying has given rise to a modification.

$18^{20-21}$. Jesus tests him first by the familiar summary of the moral law. Again there seems to be the same realism which appeared when our Lord cooled the rather fulsome warmth of the rich man's first words. (There is a like coolness, followed by generous feeling, in the story of the Syrophoenician woman, Mk. $7^{25\text{ff.}}$). The man's reply does not simply indicate self-satisfaction: he has been brought up as a faithful son of the Law, but, like S. Paul, he feels the need of something more.

$18^{22-27}$. For this man, with his particular needs and temptations, the meeting with Jesus provides the opportunity for decision. For him the call is to that life of literal poverty which Jesus and His companions led. There is no general injunction upon all followers of Christ to strip themselves of all their possessions, though the spirit of detachment from earthly 'treasure' (Matt. $6^{19-21}$) is to be sought by all. Cf. $12^{33}$ and note *ad loc.* But, as our Lord goes on to say, wealth is a real obstacle. It is the greatest temptation to worldliness, and the rich are to be regarded as in danger. Their difficulty is expressed in the famous hyperbole of the camel and the needle's eye, which is not to be spoilt by reading 'rope' (κάμιλον some late and inferior manuscripts) for 'camel' or indulging the fancy that 'the needle's eye' is the name for some narrow gate. This figure of speech for the wellnigh impossible is paralleled in the Talmud, an elephant being substituted for a camel.

If the parallel passage in Mk. 10 (R.V.) is compared with S. Luke's version, it will be seen that Mk. represents our Lord as *twice* asserting the difficulty of a rich man entering the Kingdom ($10^{23}$ and $10^{24}$) while Lk. has it only once. Wellhausen has suggested that the text given in R.V. margin, omitting the words 'for them that trust in riches', is to be preferred: he would transpose verses 24 and 25 and get a new sense. Our Lord would then be represented as saying (1) that it was hard for the rich, which astonishes the disciples, and adding (2) that it was hard for anybody, which astonishes them still more. If this very plausible theory is correct, we may suspect that the 'hard saying' is responsible both for the western variant in Mk. and the omission of it altogether in Lk. Yet it gives an excellent sense, and, though 'hard', may well represent our Lord's actual teaching. For, as He says (Lk. $18^{27}$), salvation by human effort *is* impossible: it becomes possible as a supernatural gift from God. As the passage stands in Lk. and the R.V. of Mk. we seem to be forced to the view that the disciples supposed it specially easy for the rich to enter the Kingdom, though S. Luke is careful to omit the statement that they were amazed.

$18^{28-30}$. S. Peter wishes to receive assurance that the renunciation they have made enables them to hope for eternal life. The answer applies in a special way to the circumstances of the early Church or of converts in heathen countries to-day. What is lost is replaced many times in Christ and in the Christian fellowship both here and hereafter.

S. Luke is alone in adding 'wife' to the list.

$18^{31-34}$. *Fourth Prediction of the Passion* (Mk. $10^{32-34}$, Matt. $20^{17-19}$).

This is the first mention of Jerusalem in connexion with the Passion. Already in $9^{45}$ we have had a reference to the failure of the disciples to understand how the Messiah could meet such a fate as Jesus predicted. There is no reason whatever for supposing that the repetition of the prophecy is unhistorical. S. Luke alone adds 'and all the things that are written by the prophets shall be accomplished'. It may be that the details of verse 32 are an amplification of the original saying in the light of events.

### $18^{35-43}$. *Healing of a Blind Beggar* (Mk. $10^{46-52}$, Matt. $20^{29-34}$).

S. Luke omits the story of the request of the sons of Zebedee, which precedes the Bartimaeus story in Mk. Harnack (*Luke the Physician*, p. 134 n.) thinks the omission was due to the fact that S. Luke knew that S. John had not met the martyr's death implied in the saying 'the cup that I drink ye shall drink' (Mk. $10^{39}$).

Our Lord is approaching Jerusalem (about fifteen miles from Jericho, then an important place beautified by Herod and Archelaus) and is accompanied by a great crowd of pilgrims from the north. By this time it is likely that the rumour of His claim to be Messiah in some sense had got about, and the blind man salutes Him with a Messianic title, 'Son of David', which passes unrebuked. The blind man is given the name Bartimaeus in Mk., possibly because the name lingered in S. Peter's memory and so remained in the form of the story that S. Mark heard.

Matt. has somehow got *two* blind men in his version of the story. Possibly the origin of this variation is to be found in another difference in the synoptists' accounts. Whereas S. Luke represents our Lord as meeting the blind man before He enters Jericho, S. Mark says He met him 'as he went out from Jericho': Matt.'s account may be an attempt to harmonize two conflicting forms of the story with which he became acquainted, by assuming two healings and then bringing them together.

$18^{39}$. They thought he was begging for alms, and rebuked him because he was hindering the Master's progress on His journey. It is fanciful to suppose that the crowd was anxious that the Messianic secret should not be divulged yet, for fear that Pilate might take repressive measures.

### $19^{1-28}$. *At Jericho.*

The Marcan record is dropped again, and the story of Zacchaeus and, in close connexion with it, the parable of the pounds, bring us back to 'Proto-Luke', which broke off at $18^{14}$. The story of Zacchaeus we may assign to L. The parable of the pounds is essentially the same as Matt.'s parable of the talents (Matt. $25^{14-30}$), but there are puzzling variations, which make it doubtful whether either evangelist is preserving the Q form of the story: either or both may be conflating other material with the story in Q.

For the story of Zacchaeus cf. $5^{27\text{ff.}}$ (call of Levi). He is said to be a 'chief publican' (ἀρχιτελώνης), presumably a high official in control of a number of tax-collectors. Jericho, being an important city, would be a suitable centre for him. There is a certain quaintness in the picture of this middle-aged little man forgetting his dignity as a government official and clambering up into a convenient tree, a 'fig-mulberry' (συκομορέα), such as grew commonly by the wayside, in order to catch a glimpse of the great Prophet. The fig-mulberry (so-called because its fruit is like a fig and its leaf like a mulberry leaf) is not our English sycamore: its short trunk and wide lateral branches make it easy to climb. There is no reason to suppose that Jesus had supernatural knowledge of Zacchaeus' name and business: He may well have inquired who this eager and conspicuous man was, or might have heard people hailing him. We are not told how our Lord came to know that Zacchaeus would be a suitable person to lodge with; but His friendly dealings with 'publicans' before may have prepared the way.

19[7]. *they all murmured.* The use of 'all' and 'every' is a favourite form of emphasis with S. Luke: cf. 13[17], 15[1], Acts 17[22-31] (speech at Athens). There was a general protest against this impropriety.

19[8]. The tenses seem to mean 'I do it here and now'. Zacchaeus, we may infer, was conscience-stricken. His trade was not a very scrupulous one, and he was very rich. The restitution he makes is that laid down in the Law for robbery (Exodus 22[1]): and he also promises to give half his wealth to the poor, as a further reparation.

19[9]. Zacchaeus was a Jew, one of 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel'. His change of heart shows his salvation.

19[10]. The purpose of our Lord's coming is announced in similar terms at the end of the story of His visit to Levi (5[31-32]).

### 19[11-28]. *The Parable of the Pounds* (Matt. 25[14-30]).

Apart from minor differences, such as the varying sums of money, and the varying number of servants, there is one striking difference between the Lucan and the Matthaean versions of this story: S. Luke has a sub-plot, in which the nobleman's rebellious subjects protest against his rule and are sternly punished for doing so. The complication, involving two wholly different morals, suggests that S. Luke or his source has combined two different stories. Commentators point out that there is an historical parallel to the sub-plot mentioned by Josephus (*Antiq.* xvii. 9. 3): Archelaus, the son of Herod, had gone to Rome to get his title confirmed by the Emperor in 4 B.C., and a deputation of Jews had been sent after him to protest. He was a bloodthirsty tyrant. It may be that this event remained in people's memory, and that it occurred to our Lord as a parallel to His own rejection by the Jews: or it may be that the analogy got into the tradition after the crucifixion and represents rather the Church's comment than an authentic saying of our Lord's.

The main purpose of the parable is explained by S. Luke in verse 11. Despite the Messiah's triumphant entrance into Jerusalem, the Parousia may be delayed for a long time, and the interval must be used to the best advantage.

$19^{12}$. *a certain nobleman* (*ἄνθρωπός τις εὐγενής*). Such a person as Archelaus might be so described. The absence of the nobleman represents the interval between our Lord's death and His return to judge the world.

$19^{13}$. *ten servants*. Only three are mentioned by Matt. and they receive sums 'each according to his several ability', one five talents, another two, another one. Lk.'s ten receive each the same sum, much smaller in amount than the least of Matt.'s: a mina (translated 'pound') was a sum of 100 drachmae, about £4, while a talent was 60 minae. These differences produce a difference in the meaning of the two parables. In Matt. the point is the use made of men's varying abilities and opportunities: in Lk. the different use made of like gifts. The servants are, of course, to be distinguished from the citizens: the servants represent our Lord's followers, the citizens the Jews.

*Trade ye herewith*. The complement to the oft-repeated lesson of renunciation. Men are bidden to develop their gifts for the service of God. Renunciation does not mean a mere negative abstention from responsibility. A man has 'to make the best of himself'. But he has to do it for God, not for his own aggrandizement.

$19^{17}$. Note that the reward is greater scope and wider responsibility, not escape from service.

$19^{21}$. The character of the nobleman, as illustrated here and in verse 27, is not, of course, to be taken as our Lord's description of Himself. It is merely part of the colouring of the story.

$19^{24-26}$. The principle here involved is of far-reaching importance. Biologically, disused organs tend to atrophy; and psychologically, neglected capacities become more and more difficult to rouse into active functioning. And vice versa it is normally true that activity of an organ means health, and our mental powers improve with use. Here the principle is extended into the moral sphere: we become moral personalities only by the positive exercise of moral choice; and 'salt that has lost its savour' is worthless. Our Lord continually emphasizes the responsibility of men for their moral and spiritual condition. A man is responsible for what he is, as well as for what he does or omits to do: for his acts and his omissions make his character.

The summary in verse 26 has already been used (from Mk.) in Lk. $8^{18}$.

$19^{27}$. Josephus (*Jewish War*, ii. 7. 3) refers to Archelaus' revenge on Jews and Samaritans when he returned as ethnarch. His bad government and cruelty compelled Augustus in the end to depose him.

The moral of the verse and of the sub-plot is that to reject Christ brings inevitable disaster.

Streeter is inclined to think that the document Q ended with the parable of the pounds, on the ground that (as with the *Didache*) a primitive document of Christian instruction would naturally close with apocalyptic matter such as the 'apocalypse of Q' in Lk. 17 and this parable.

## AT JERUSALEM. THE PASSION AND RESURRECTION ($19^{29}$–$24^{53}$)

We now enter upon the last main division of the Gospel, in which S. Luke narrates our Lord's last public teachings in Jerusalem, His betrayal to the authorities, the Last Supper, the Agony in Gethsemane, the trials before the Sanhedrin, Pilate, and Herod, the Crucifixion, Burial, and Resurrection. The detailed treatment of these last days in the Gospels, and the fact that out of 1,149 verses S. Luke gives 285—about a quarter—to the story of little more than a week, are readily explicable. From the first the Cross and Resurrection were the core and centre of the Christian religion, the heart of that 'good news' which the Christian missionary movement proclaimed. All else in the story—the sayings, the parables, the mighty works—lead up to this. S. Paul preaching at Athens (Acts $17^{18}$), 'sets forth strange gods', Jesus and Anastasis (resurrection). Jesus had been proclaimed Lord and Saviour by the resurrection from the dead. Hence the loving care which dwelt on the events of the last week provided the gospel writers with much more abundant material than they had for any other period of comparable length in our Lord's life on earth.

*Sources.* Three divisions may be distinguished in the story:

(1) 19²⁹–21⁴. Entry into Jerusalem. Last Days of Public Teaching.
(2) 21⁵⁻³⁷. The Apocalyptic Discourse.
(3) 22–24. Narrative of the Passion and Resurrection.

The intricate problem of the sources employed by S. Luke and the manner in which he used them can best be considered on the basis of this arrangement.

(1) There is little difficulty with this first division. The material is mainly Marcan, though S. Luke clearly has another source as well. Non-Marcan (probably from L) are the Lament over Jerusalem, and perhaps 19³⁷⁻⁴⁰,⁴⁷⁻⁴⁸, where there is considerable divergence from Mk. See also the note which follows, on the chronology of Holy Week.

(2) The second division presents a much more difficult problem. Mk. 13 has obviously been used in constructing the apocalyptic discourse. Streeter thinks that the majority of the divergences from Mk. are well within the limits of editorial conjecture or inference from the context, but that it is not impossible that Proto-Luke contained a parallel version which has been followed (*Four Gospels*, p. 215). Burkitt, again, says that Lk. 21⁵⁻³⁷ is nothing more than Luke's version of Mk. 13³⁻³⁷ (*Beginnings of Christianity*, Pt. I, vol. 2, p. 108). Easton thinks it is the form Mk.'s 'little apocalypse' took in southern Palestine (*St. Luke*, p. 313). Vincent Taylor, on the other hand, after a careful examination (*Behind the Third Gospel*, ch. 4), concludes that Mk. is a secondary source except in verses 5–11, the passage 12–36 being non-Marcan with some Marcan insertions. A. M. Perry (*Sources of Luke's Passion Narrative*) comes to a similar conclusion. Taylor, in the appendix to his fourth chapter, suggests that the source of Lk. 21²⁰⁻³⁶ is an apocalyptic document connected with the siege and fall of Jerusalem and paralleled by the written apocalypse supposed by many scholars to underlie Mk. 13. The question turns largely on minute comparisons of language, and in a literary style such as S. Luke's the discrimination of sources by this method must always be highly speculative.[1] The deciding factor will probably be the degree of confidence that is placed in the Proto-Luke hypothesis and its corollary that S. Luke tends to prefer Q+L as his primary source, and to fit into it passages from Mk., whether by introducing blocks of Marcan matter between blocks of Proto-

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[1] See the criticism by J. W. Hunkin, *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1927.

Luke, or by making slight changes in Proto-Luke passages by insertions from Mk.

(3) The Lucan passion-narrative again shows signs that Mk. has been used, but most of the material is non-Marcan. Four main divergences from Mk. are noteworthy: (*a*) Lk. rearranges the Marcan order some dozen times, (*b*) the mocking of Jesus is by Herod and his soldiers, not by the soldiers of Pilate, and occurs after a 'trial' before Herod of which Mk. says nothing; (*c*) the trial before the Sanhedrin is in the morning, not at night; (*d*) the Resurrection appearances are at Jerusalem, not in Galilee. It is improbable that Q contained an account of the Passion, and very improbable that, if it did, it was the account followed here by S. Luke: for, as Streeter points out (*Oxford Studies*, p. 203), it is incredible that Matt. would have neglected it, with its richness of non-Marcan detail. We have to conclude, therefore, that S. Luke's passion-narrative comes mainly from a source that is neither Mk. nor Q. This source may well have been, in this case, the oral tradition (see the next note) worked up by himself into a written document L. With this he combined a certain amount of Mk.; Streeter (*op. cit.*, p. 159) thinks that only twenty-four verses can be identified as derived from Mk. But the two sources are inextricably mingled, and there may be more of Mk. than can be detected in the finished narrative.

## NOTE I. CHRONOLOGY OF HOLY WEEK

By reckoning back from Good Friday and following the Marcan record, we get the traditional arrangement of Holy Week: *Palm Sunday*, entry into Jerusalem, and return to Bethany (so each evening apparently); *Monday*, cleansing of the Temple and the priests' plot; *Tuesday*, day of questions and eschatological discourse; *Wednesday*, anointing at Bethany and betrayal; *Thursday*, the Last Supper; *Good Friday*, the crucifixion. If Mk. is based, as it probably is, on the teaching of S. Peter, this arrangement may well be historically correct. But S. Luke does not conform to it. Thus (1) the cleansing of the Temple appears to follow immediately on the entry into the city (Lk. $19^{37-45}$); (2) the priests' plot is detached from the cleansing of the Temple (cf. Mk. $11^{17-18}$ with Lk. $19^{46-47}$, and see the notes below); (3) the day of questions is left vague (Lk. $20^{1}$ 'on one of the days'); (4) the indefinite phrase 'now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh' takes the place of the more precise dating of Mk., 'after two days' (Lk. $22^1$, Mk. $14^1$) in the account of Judas' arrangement with the chief priests. The differences are all slight, and such as might easily appear in two versions of the same events. Dr. Bartlet (*Oxford Studies*, pp. 351 ff.) makes the attractive suggestion that S. Luke had the account given by Philip the Evangelist of our Lord's last days in Jerusalem[1]: this may be true, though it is also clear that up to $21^4$ S. Luke is mainly following Mk.

Two further chronological questions arise from the statement common to Mk. and Lk. that the Last Supper took place on 'the day of unleavened bread' (Lk. $22^7$: Mk. $14^{12}$ has 'the first day of unleavened bread') which was also the day of the sacrifice of the Passover. The questions are: (1) Why do the evangelists speak of the day of unleavened bread and the day of the Passover as the same day, when the first day of unleavened bread, according to the Law (Num. $28^{16,17}$, Lev. $23^{5,6}$), was the day following the Passover? (2) Was the Last Supper a Passover?

(1) The confusion of the days is not simply a mistake. It was apparently a popular usage, due to the fact that the Passover and the feast of unleavened bread were so closely connected. Plummer notes that Josephus speaks of 'the feast of unleavened bread which we call the Passover' (*Antiq.* 14. 2. 1), and that he can even say 'we keep a feast for eight days, that called the feast of unleavened bread' (*Antiq.* 2. 15. 1). Here the eight days are Nisan 14–21 inclusive, the Passover being 'on the fourteenth day of the first month' (Nisan) and the feast of unleavened bread lasting from Nisan 15–21. The evangelists, therefore, are using a common expression which signifies Nisan 14, the day when the Passover lambs were killed.

(2) The second question is more complicated. The synoptic tradition states that the Last Supper took place on the night of Nisan 14 in a room which had been engaged for the purpose of eating the Passover (Mk. $14^{14}$, Matt. $26^{18}$, Lk. $22^{11}$): the Last Supper and the Passover therefore appear to coincide, and the Eucharist is derived direct from the Passover meal. But there are several difficulties in accepting this statement.

(*a*) Nothing is said of the lamb which was essential for the Passover: yet the Last Supper and the preparation for it are described in some detail. Nor is there any trace of the four

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[1] Harnack has suggested that Philip was the author of L.

A domestic Passover celebration in the Middle Ages cups of wine provided for each person. (*b*) It becomes necessary to suppose that our Lord was crucified on Nisan 15, the first day of the feast, which is improbable in itself and is incompatible with the statement in Mk. $14^{2}$ that the priests did not want to kill Jesus during the feast. (*c*) The Johannine tradition (John $18^{28}$, $19^{14}$) definitely distinguishes the Last Supper from the Passover, and asserts that the Crucifixion took place before the Passover meal on the day of Preparation, Nisan 14, which was regarded as an introduction to the feast. A comparative table will show the differences most clearly.

| | *Mk. and Lk.* | *John.* |
|---|---|---|
| Thursday: Night | Last Supper, the Passover meal | Last Supper, *not* the Passover |
| Friday: Afternoon | Crucifixion | Crucifixion: Passover lambs slain |
| Evening | Burial | Burial |
| Night | | The Passover meal |

In the year of the Crucifixion, Nisan 15, the first day of unleavened bread, in the strict sense of the words, coincided with the Sabbath. The Preparation for the Passover, if the fourth Gospel is right, and the Preparation for the Sabbath would therefore also coincide. The year of the Crucifixion was A.D. 29 or 30 according to the majority of scholars.

(*d*) In Lk. $22^{15-16}$ our Lord says, 'With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: for I say unto you, I will not eat it, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.' This passage is not in Mk., and the natural interpretation of it, apart from the preceding Marcan passage in Lk., is that our Lord wished to keep the Passover with His disciples, but realized that He would be dead before He could do so. S. Luke then seems to be here following a source or tradition which, like the fourth Gospel, put the Last Supper on the night before the Passover. The saying in its present context can be made to fit that context, and Lk., as we have it, agrees with Mk.: but, apart from the Marcan material, it implies a time before the Passover. See V. Taylor (*op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.) and Moffatt (*Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 545).

The evidence of the fourth Gospel is here very relevant. The author of it was manifestly a man with a sound knowledge of Jewish affairs, and in particular of Jerusalem and the Temple.

If, as is generally believed by scholars, he knew S. Mark's Gospel, it is very likely that his correction of the dates is deliberately made from his fuller knowledge. He agrees that the Crucifixion was on a Friday, but insists that the Friday was Nisan 14, when the lambs were sacrificed.

Recent research has provided materials for a theory which explains how the divergence has arisen, and to a large extent reconciles the two traditions. Oesterley and Box in *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, and more recently Oesterley in *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, have explored the antecedents of the Eucharist, and shown reasons for believing that they are to be found in a religious meal known as Kiddûsh, which was held weekly by groups of devout Jews on Friday afternoons as a preparation for the Sabbath. It became customary to hold this gathering also on the day before great feasts. The meal ended with a ceremony in which the president of the group took a cup of wine and pronounced a benediction which was called 'the Sanctification of the Day'. Our Lord and His apostles, it is argued, formed such a group, and probably had made a regular custom of observing this ceremony. The Last Supper, then, was the last of these meals together, taken on the Thursday night before the Day of Preparation (on which the lambs for the Passover were slain), because the Day of Preparation was treated as a Sabbath, and observed as a sacred day leading up to the Passover meal at night and the subsequent feast of unleavened bread. The Eucharist, on this theory, was instituted not at a Passover meal in the strict sense, but at the Kiddûsh of preparation for the Passover. It was the close association between this Passover-eve Kiddûsh and the Passover meal itself that produced the synoptic telescoping of the two; but S. John is right in distinguishing them.

Some confusion may also have been introduced by the Jewish custom of reckoning the beginning of a new day at sunset. The Day of Preparation, by Jewish reckoning, began about 6 p.m. on the Thursday, and so the Last Supper, the slaying of the lambs, and the Crucifixion all took place, strictly speaking, on Nisan 14; but if the Thursday night was described as Nisan 14, it is obviously possible that the Crucifixion, which happened on the Friday, should have got dated Nisan 15, the day *after* the Passover.

For other views see Rawlinson, *St. Mark*, pp. 262–267; and cf. Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, pp. 383–393.

## Part I. *Entry into Jerusalem. Last Days of Public Teaching.*

### Analysis

(*a*) Triumphal Entry: $19^{29-40}$.
(*b*) Lament over Jerusalem: $19^{41-44}$.
(*c*) Cleansing of the Temple: $19^{45-46}$.
(*d*) The Priests' Plot: $19^{47-48}$.
(*e*) A Question about Authority: $20^{1-8}$.
(*f*) Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen: $20^{9-18}$.
(*g*) A Question about Paying Tribute: $20^{19-26}$.
(*h*) A Question about the Resurrection: $20^{27-40}$.
(*i*) A Question about the Christ: $20^{41-44}$.
(*j*) Warning against the Scribes: $20^{45-47}$.
(*k*) The Widow's Mites: $21^{1-4}$.

$19^{29-40}$. *Triumphal Entry* (Mk. $11^{1-11}$, Matt. $21^{1-11}$: cf. John $12^{1-19}$).

Our Lord rides down from the Mount of Olives (east of Jerusalem) across the valley of the Kidron into the city, a distance of about two miles. He is accompanied by a cheering crowd, who hail Him as the Messianic King, and He accepts the position, despite a protest from some Pharisees. The Messianic element here has been variously interpreted, but there seems no convincing reason for doubting that our Lord deliberately intended to convey by His actions that He was the Messiah. But it is equally clear that He also wished to make it clear that He was no political king, but the spiritual Lord of a spiritual kingdom. He chooses to fulfil the description in Zechariah $9^9$ of a king who comes 'lowly and riding upon an ass'. It may be that many in the crowd hailed him as simply a prophet, and that He was saluted as Messiah mainly by His own followers and the Galilaean element.

$19^{29}$. *Bethphage and Bethany.* The site of Bethphage is unknown, but it is mentioned in the Talmud. Bethany is identified with the modern village of El-Azariyeh. The 'village over against you' is probably Bethphage, which is said to have been nearer Jerusalem than Bethany: our Lord probably sent the men on from Bethany. Lonsdale Ragg (*Westminster Commentary on St. Luke*, p. 249) observes: 'It is remarkable that while the visit to Mary and Martha in an unnamed village follows immediately on the story about the Jerusalem–Jericho road ($10^{38}$), St. Luke's first mention of Bethany follows the mention of His journey from Jericho to Jerusalem.'

$19^{30}$. *whereon no man ever yet sat.* The suggestion is of a special occasion and no ordinary rider.

$19^{31}$. No doubt a previous arrangement had been made. There is no need to bring in miraculous knowledge. It has already been suggested that our Lord must have been known in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem: it is incredible that this was His first visit to the Holy City since His childhood. Matt. $21^{5}$ adds here the prophecy from Zech. $9^{9}$.

$19^{36}$. Garments were strewn before Jehu as a sign of royal homage (2 Kings $9^{13}$). Lk. says nothing of the 'branches' and 'palms' which have given Palm Sunday its name: John $12^{13}$ alone refers to palm-branches.

$19^{37}$. It is characteristic of S. Luke to add the touch 'the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God': cf. $13^{17}$, $18^{43}$, for the note of joy and praise.

$19^{38}$. The cries vary somewhat in the three synoptists. Lk. omits the Jewish Hosanna, adds 'the King' and 'peace in heaven', and substitutes 'glory' for the second Hosanna. The crowd no doubt were thinking of the Davidic king of O.T. prophecy. See Ps. $118^{26}$ for the original words.

$19^{39-40}$. Syr. Sin. omits 'of the Pharisees'. This incident is peculiar to Lk. Matt. $21^{15-16}$ gives a similar incident where children in the Temple provoke priests and scribes to a protest. Our Lord replies with a proverbial expression: cf. Habakkuk $2^{11}$.

### $19^{41-44}$. *Lament over Jerusalem.*

We have already had the famous lament, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem' ($13^{34,35}$), which occurred in Q and is placed by Matt. and Lk. in curiously different parts of the story (see Matt. $23^{37-39}$). This fine second lament is found only in Lk. The two are so different in content that it seems hardly reasonable to suspect a doublet.

That our Lord foretold with sorrow the downfall of Jerusalem may be taken as certain: that His emotion caused Him to prophesy it on this occasion is eminently likely. The details of the prediction have been regarded by some scholars as not authentic, and as dating from after A.D. 70, when Titus besieged and destroyed Jerusalem: but they are the commonplaces of ancient siege warfare, needing no special prophetic insight, and are illustrated again and again in O.T. sieges (cf. Isa. $29^{3}$, Ezek. $4^{2}$).

$19^{44}$. Doubtless a reminiscence of Ps. $137^{9}$. The 'visitation' (ἐπισκοπή) is the opportunity provided by God in the coming of Christ.

$19^{45-46}$. *Cleansing of the Temple* (Mk. $11^{15-17}$, Matt. $21^{12-13}$: cf. John $2^{13-16}$).

S. Luke represents the cleansing of the Temple as having taken place as soon as our Lord reached the city: certainly this is the natural interpretation of the passage as it stands in his Gospel and without reference to the Marcan dating. Mk., followed by Matt., says that He cleansed the Temple on the following morning, and gives the story of the withering of the fig tree as having happened during the walk into the city from Bethany. S. Luke has no story of the withering of the fig tree, and many scholars think that his *parable* of the fig tree (Lk. $13^{6-9}$) is more likely to be original. However this may be, S. Luke did not adopt the Marcan scheme of dating the events of Holy Week (cf. $20^{1}$); possibly the reason is that his other source (Philip?) did not confirm it.

John $2^{13-16}$ speaks of an earlier cleansing of the Temple on a previous visit in that early Judaean ministry of which the synoptic gospels say nothing directly (for a possible indirect reference in Lk. see the note on $4^{23}$). In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to say whether both cleansings are historical or whether the fourth Gospel displaces the cleansing in Holy Week for a (presumably) symbolic purpose.

A brisk business seems to have been done in the outer courts of the Temple by those who sold victims for the sacrifices and the money changers who provided pilgrims from abroad with the half shekel for the Temple tax (cf. Matt. $17^{24}$), no doubt at a rate of exchange very profitable to themselves. The Temple authorities were not ashamed to thrust all the shabby meannesses of an Oriental bazaar into the central shrine of Judaism, and to have a financial interest in it. Lagrange, who compares the similar fleecing of pilgrims at Mecca to-day, in his commentary on S. Mark draws a vivid picture of the noise and sordid wrangling about prices which defiled the sacred area.

Our Lord's masterful dealing with this disreputable scandal must have been regarded as a direct attack on the Temple authorities. The Marcan record suggests very plainly that it was the resentment provoked by His action in the minds of the priests which decided them to have Jesus killed. Kirsopp Lake in *The*

*Stewardship of Faith*, p. 39, goes as far as to say, 'Financial interest rather than theological hatred was the real cause of the accusation of the priests, though they dressed it up in a partly political, partly religious form'. S. Luke somewhat obscures the connexion by introducing the sentence 'And he was teaching daily in the temple' (v. 47) before mentioning the priests' plot, the immediate cause of which is thus represented as being rather the teaching than the cleansing of the Temple.

JUDEA CAPTA

Reverse of sestertius of Vespasian (enlarged) commemorating his Palestinian Triumph. A Jewess sits mourning under a palm tree, while the victorious Vespasian stands behind her holding a spear and parazonium. Round the edge runs the inscription JUDEA CAPTA

19[45]. Note the fuller detail in Mk. We need not suppose that our Lord used physical force on the persons of the traders and their customers. In John 2[15] the scourge of cords is apparently for driving out the animals.

19[46]. Our Lord quotes the prophets, Isa. 56[7], Jer. 7[11].

19[47-48]. *The Priests' Plot* (Mk. 11[18]).

Our Lord is for the time a centre of popular interest, and daily teaches in the Temple, coming in early in the morning to find crowds waiting for Him: cf. $21^{37-38}$. This popular enthusiasm causes difficulty to the Sanhedrin and prevents any immediate overt action against Him. The controversies which follow reveal indirect attempts to bring our Lord into discredit and within reach of the law.

### $20^{1-8}$. *A Question about Authority* (Mk. $11^{27-33}$, Matt. $21^{23-27}$).

The greater part of ch. 20 is concerned with the controversies by means of which the religious authorities sought to entrap Jesus. On the Marcan reckoning these discussions took place on the Tuesday, the 'day of questions' as it has come to be called.

The first question is put by a deputation representing the different groups who formed the Sanhedrin or Great Council. The original nucleus of the Sanhedrin was drawn from the priestly aristocracy, of conservative Sadducean views, but at this time it also contained a number of learned rabbis who did not belong to the priestly caste and were mainly Pharisees. There were seventy-one members altogether, and the council was recruited by co-optation. From their own point of view the Sanhedrin were justified in demanding our Lord's authority for His action in expelling the traders and teaching in the official head-quarters of Judaism. But the motive of the question was not to satisfy themselves that Jesus was a true prophet sent from God. They had made up their minds to get rid of Him, and were trying to extort a confession of His Messianic claims which they could use as material for a charge of blasphemy and sedition. Our Lord refuses to be caught in this way and turns the tables on them by His question about John the Baptist. They had not recognized John, a failure which in itself was not necessarily culpable. Their failure to recognize John as a true prophet could have been defended if they had sincerely believed him to be a false prophet. But that was just what they lacked the moral courage to say. They had not shown themselves competent or trustworthy judges in John's case. Were they any more likely to judge Jesus fairly and honestly? They had forfeited their right to a plain answer to their question. Nevertheless our Lord does not merely evade the question. Indirectly He does claim to be Messiah, by drawing their attention to John. For He plainly implies that He believes John to have been divinely sent: and as John was the herald of the Christ and the Kingdom, Jesus who came after John can only be the Christ.

20$^{9-18}$. *Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen* (Mk. 12$^{1-12}$, Matt. 21$^{33-46}$).

Rawlinson argues convincingly for the authenticity of this parable, which has been doubted (*S. Mark*, pp. 161–162). It has certain unusual features: it approaches more nearly to allegory than most of the parables, it is a historical survey and a warning prophecy rather than a vehicle of moral teaching, and it is startlingly plain in its Messianic claim. Yet every one of these features is explicable by the special appropriateness of the parable to the occasion. Burkitt (quoted by Rawlinson, *loc. cit.*) points out that if the parable were a later invention, it would certainly have added the resurrection of the heir.

20$^9$. *a vineyard.* See Isa. 5$^{1-7}$. Israel as the Lord's vineyard would be a familiar thought to our Lord's hearers.

*husbandmen.* 'The scribes and the chief priests' of verse 19, who were the religious leaders of Israel.

20$^{10}$. *at the season.* This would be in the fifth year of his absence 'for a long time': see Lev. 19$^{23-25}$ for the rule about a new plantation of fruit trees.

*a servant.* The various servants stand for the prophets who suffered at the hands of the rulers of Israel: see 1 Kings 18 (Elijah), 1 Kings 22 (Micaiah), Jer. 37$^{15}$, 44$^4$ (Jeremiah), 2 Chron. 36$^{15-16}$, Neh. 9$^{26}$.

20$^{13}$. *beloved son.* A Messianic title: it occurs in the story of our Lord's baptism, Lk. 3$^{22}$. Note the distinction from the prophets.

20$^{15}$. Mk. has 'killed him and cast him forth'. There may be conscious editing here by S. Luke (and by the author of the first Gospel) in order to get a closer correspondence with the 'casting forth' of Jesus to Calvary outside the walls of Jerusalem and His crucifixion there. If so, it was unnecessary, since the 'vineyard' is not Jerusalem but Israel.

20$^{16}$. *others.* The apostles, who in 22$^{30}$ receive the promise 'ye shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel'. This is more likely than the view that the Gentiles are meant.

20$^{17}$. The quotation is from Ps. 118$^{22}$, which our Lord interprets Messianically. It became a standard proof-text in the early Church: see Acts 4$^{11}$ (Peter before the Sanhedrin), 1 Pet. 2$^7$, Eph. 2$^{20}$.

20$^{18}$. Not in Mk. and omitted in some manuscripts of Matt. It seems to be derived from Isa. 8$^{14,15}$ and Dan. 2$^{34,35,44}$.

*scatter . . . as dust* (λικμήσει). The 'dust' is the chaff scattered by a winnowing-fan (λικμός).

$20^{19-26}$. *A Question about Paying Tribute* (Mk. $12^{13-17}$, Matt. $22^{15-22}$).

Baffled in their attempt to entrap Jesus on the religious issue, the authorities now try to involve Him in a charge of seditious language against the Imperial government. After the deposition of Archelaus in A. D. 6, Judaea, with Samaria and Idumaea, had been taken over by the Emperor and was administered by a procurator: at the same time a poll-tax, apparently of one denarius (v. 24) for each person, had been levied. This was bitterly resented by the Jews, whose fierce nationalism led them to fasten all their hatred on the tribute as the final proof that freedom was gone and they were the slaves of Rome. The insurrection of Judas of Galilee, referred to by Josephus and in Acts $5^{37}$, was caused by the imposition of the tribute. Armed rebellion against Rome was futile, but it measured the depth of angry feeling in Jewish minds. The Sanhedrin therefore might hope to achieve a sure and overwhelming success, if they could either get Jesus to speak against the tribute and so lay Himself open to a charge of revolution, or get Him to speak in favour of paying tribute and see His hold over the people lost in a storm of popular anger. No doubt, as S. Luke says, they hoped for the first alternative. Their methods this time are less direct. They suborn persons who go in the guise of simple inquirers after truth to question Jesus. The clumsy subterfuge fails. Our Lord again will not let Himself be caught. In a memorable sentence He condemns His adversaries: for if they had been in the habit of rendering to God the things that are God's, they would not have been reduced to these mean shifts.

On the surface His answer is no more than a way of declining to give an opinion, by referring His questioners to the then acknowledged principle that the use of a ruler's coins implied the acceptance of his authority, and that they were *his* coins in the sense of being his property to which he had a right. He refuses to be entangled in politics, and makes it quite clear that He is no revolutionary: but He does not say what in fact *are* the things of Caesar; He says merely that if, as they all admit, those coins are by right Caesar's, then giving them to their rightful owner is not incompatible with their duty to God.

Much more has been read into the saying 'Render unto Caesar', &c. It has been made into a declaration of the sacred rights of the civil power as such, and as our Lord's statement of what S. Paul says (Rom. $13^{1-7}$) about 'the powers that be' as 'ordained of God' and the ruler being 'a minister of God'. But it cannot be regarded as certain that this larger principle was in our Lord's thought at the time.

$20^{21}$. S. Luke leaves no room for doubt about the insincerity of this preamble. It is the hypocritical flattery of spies—Mk. says they were Pharisees and Herodians. But it is, incidentally, evidence of the profound impression made by our Lord.

$20^{24}$. *penny*. The silver denarius, roughly equivalent to a shilling, a Roman coin in which the poll-tax had to be paid. If recently minted it would bear the 'image' of Tiberius.

### $20^{27-40}$. *A Question about the Resurrection* (Mk. $12^{18-27}$, Matt. $22^{23-33}$).

The Pharisees were distinguished by their support of the oral tradition as well as of the written Scriptures, and in particular by their doctrines of the Resurrection and of the existence of angels. In both these points they were opposed by the Sadducees, who held the Scripture alone to be authoritative, and regarded the doctrines of a resurrection and of angels as innovations not warranted by the canonical books. The Pharisees were the popular party, the Sadducees the party of the priestly aristocracy, old fashioned in their views and distrustful of the eschatological ideas which were dear to the people and were propagated by the Pharisees. Many of the Pharisaic rabbis regarded the Sadducees as dangerous sceptics and materialists, but with little justice: the Sadducees preferred to stand upon the old ways and were not irreligious. The name Sadducee is probably derived from Zadok, the high priest in David's time (2 Sam. $8^{17}$), from whom the later priesthood claimed descent.

The Sadducees seem to have realized that our Lord held the doctrine of the Resurrection in common with their Pharisaic opponents. They try now to discredit Him by a *reductio ad absurdum*: any weapon would do, even one which itself divided the Sanhedrin. The problem they put about marriage in the resurrection life was probably one of their regular objections to the resurrection doctrine. Our Lord's answer is twofold: (1) that marriage, as a means of continuing the race, is irrelevant to a world in which death is abolished; (2) that even the Pentateuch, the very heart of those Scriptures to which the Sadducees appealed, contains a statement of the truth of a future life. The form in which our Lord presents the second argument involves a use of Scripture which was general among the rabbis of His time;

and the argument itself appears in 4 Maccabees $7^{19}$, $16^{25}$, a work written shortly before the fall of Jerusalem. The argument goes beyond the original meaning of the scriptural words, which are used to convey what is and always has been the chief rational ground for believing in a future life, namely the existence of a good God: it is inconceivable that God should create beings whose end is to know and love Him, and then after a few years sweep them out of existence.

$20^{28}$. For this 'levirate' law of marriage see Deut. $25^{5-6}$. Probably the case here adduced is imaginary: some scholars think the law was obsolete in our Lord's day. If a child had been born, the woman would have been accounted the wife of the father, but the child would, by the levirate law, be regarded as the child of the first husband.

$20^{35}$. *they that are accounted worthy*. See the note on $14^{14}$.

$20^{36}$. They are immortal spiritual beings. Observe that our Lord incidentally contravenes the Sadducean disbelief in angels.

$20^{37}$. *Moses*. Universally regarded at the time as the author of the Pentateuch. The passage from which the quotation is made (Exod. $3^{6}$) is cited by the name 'the Bush', the custom being to name each section of the scriptures from something prominent in its subject-matter.

$20^{39-40}$. These scribes would be Pharisees, pleased at finding their view upheld. But S. Luke seems also to see in their compliment a reluctant admission that Jesus had held His own throughout the controversy and that the attempt to trap Him had failed.

### $20^{41-44}$. *A Question about the Christ* (Mk. $12^{35-37}$, Matt. $22^{41-46}$).

The attack is called off, and our Lord now asks a question Himself. It is doubtful whether His question was addressed to the scribes or to the people generally; S. Luke seems to imply that the scribes are addressed, but S. Mark represents the question as put to the people. It is likely that S. Mark is more exact here. For our Lord in this passage is not merely carrying on the battle of wits with the authorities. He is giving positive teaching, in His usual thought-provoking way, about the Messiah; and this would more probably form a part of that 'teaching in the Temple' which occupied Him during these days. Popular conceptions of the Messiah, like popular conceptions of the Kingdom, needed to be transcended. The 'son of David' was a phrase that had gathered round it nationalist and military associations: it called up the thought of a warrior-king leading Jewish armies to triumph. But the Scriptures, the accepted authority, taught a loftier idea of the Messiah, when David called the Messiah his 'Lord'. The Messiah plainly is more than a Jewish king, even so great a king as David. Our Lord is not here repudiating the title 'son of David'. In a very real sense He is the 'King of the Jews'. But He is showing that His Kingdom is far more and far other than conventional ideas of it: and He is asking *in what sense* is the Messiah David's son.

Naturally, our Lord's argument moves within the sphere of thought-forms common to His age and race. The form mattered little: the content of ideas was all-important. In its form, the argument proceeds from premisses which were, but are no longer, held without question: it assumes the Messianic meaning of Ps. 110, its Davidic authorship, and the customary principles of rabbinical exegesis of the Scriptures. We know from the Midrash that Ps. $110^1$ was used in a Messianic sense (see Oesterley and Box, *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, p. 97). The attribution of the psalm to David as author caused much difficulty to an earlier generation than ours, when biblical criticism first began to show that Ps. 110 and many other psalms belonged to an age centuries after David's time, probably the age of the Maccabees. To Bishop Gore is due the credit of first showing English Christians that it is no true part of the doctrine of the Incarnation that our Lord's human consciousness should have had miraculous insight into every detail of past history. To insist on such miraculous knowledge would logically involve some form of the Docetist heresy. In any case, our Lord, in referring to a psalm as David's, is no more settling a question of biblical criticism than we are deciding between the Ptolemaic and the Copernican astronomy by speaking of 'sunrise'. It was part of the ordinary conventions of speech.

There is no good reason for rejecting this passage as not authentic: see Rawlinson's reply to the criticisms of Johannes Weiss and Bousset (*op. cit.*, pp. 173 f.).

$20^{45-47}$. *Warning against the Scribes* (Mk. $12^{38-40}$, Matt. $23^{1-7}$).

We have already had the attack on Pharisaism which stood in Q: see Lk. $11^{37}$–$12^1$ and the notes there. H. G. Wood says of this Marcan passage: 'These criticisms seem rather sweeping if aimed at a class. But it is difficult to judge, without the actual context and without fuller knowledge of Jesus' contemporaries' (Peake's *Commentary*, p. 696). Note that Matt. makes a distinction between the teaching and the practice of the scribes. The charges here are of ostentation, pride, greed, and hypocrisy. The phrase about devouring widows' houses does not appear in Q, and its meaning is doubtful. Josephus (*Antiq.* 17. 2. 4) charges the Pharisees with 'getting women into their power' as well as 'making men believe that they were highly favoured by God': and see Plummer's note on Lk. $20^{47}$ for evidence to the same effect from the Talmud. Burney (*Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 10) suggests that 'make long prayers' is a variant of 'make broad their phylacteries' in Matt. $23^{5}$, the Aramaic for 'phylacteries' meaning 'prayers'.

$21^{1-4}$. *The Widow's Mites* (Mk. $12^{41-44}$).

S. Luke suggests more plainly than S. Mark that the connexion between this passage and the last is not of his making. Our Lord has just been speaking of widows, and 'looking up' catches sight of a widow, from whose generosity He immediately draws a lesson: God values gifts more if they cost the giver something than if they come from what the giver can give without missing it. Rawlinson, following Lagrange, points out that though Aristotle and other philosophers have said much the same thing, they have not had the same effect in exciting generosity as this lesson drawn by our Lord from the poor widow. Montefiore quotes a somewhat similar saying from a Jewish comment on Lev. $3^{5}$ (*Beginnings of Christianity*, i. 76).

$21^{1}$. *the treasury.* The word is used here of the trumpet-shaped boxes which stood in the Temple for offerings. The widow puts in two lepta. The lepton was the smallest copper coin, about one-third of a farthing in value.

$21^{5-36}$. *The Apocalyptic Discourse.*

## NOTE J. THE LUCAN ESCHATOLOGY

By eschatology we mean the doctrine of the 'last things', and more precisely the group of ideas which centres round the coming of the Kingdom of God and the appearing or 'Parousia' of the Son of man, as future events in which the present 'age' (aeon) reaches its culmination. These ideas are the main subject-matter of the mass of Jewish and Jewish-Christian literature of which Daniel and (in part) Revelation are the best-known examples. It was written during the two centuries before and the century after Christ, and may be regarded as a successor to the Hebrew prophetic literature of our Old Testament canon. It is called 'apocalyptic' because it consists in the main of 'revelations' (ἀποκάλυψις) vouchsafed in vision to the writer, who by a common convention of the age wrote in the name of some great hero of the past, Daniel, Enoch, Baruch, the Patriarchs, &c. We have already mentioned, in the note on the Kingdom of God, how this literature originated in a new set of political and spiritual conditions, and how it created the mental atmosphere of our Lord's own time. The interest of the primitive Christian community was largely eschatological. They looked for the appearing of their Lord: 'we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ', says S. Paul (Phil. $3^{20}$), and the primitive prayer 'our Lord, come' appears in the original Aramaic ('marana tha', as it should read) in 1 Cor. $16^{22}$. As they believed that Jesus was the Christ, proved to be such by His resurrection, so they expected His 'appearing' in the near future. And they believed that they had the warrant of our Lord's own teaching for this.

The alms-bowl of a Jewish synagogue of the thirteenth century. The so-called 'Bodleian Bowl', with an inscription in Hebrew running round it

It is therefore natural that the New Testament should have much eschatological colouring, reflecting as it does the thought of the early Christian community. Two of the earliest of S. Paul's epistles, those to the Thessalonians, which are also among the earliest of the N.T. books, are mainly concerned with this matter: and when we come to the second stage of N.T. development, that at which our gospels were written, we find eschatology still in the forefront.

Several problems of very great difficulty and intricacy arise when we investigate the eschatological factor in the Gospels. They have occupied a great deal of space in recent biblical criticism, and will continue to do so. We cannot here deal with the whole problem, but will confine ourselves to three points:

(*a*) The character and origin of Lk. $21^{5-36}$.
(*b*) The relation of this to other Lucan eschatological sayings.
(*c*) The original teaching of our Lord about His return.

(*a*) In Lk. $21^{5-36}$ we have what purports to be a practically continuous discourse in which our Lord predicted in detail the events which should precede and be the signs of 'the coming of the Son of man' in the near future. The discourse falls into three parts:

(1) Verses 5–11. A prophecy of the destruction of the Temple, the appearance of deceivers, and the coming of wars and great natural catastrophes.
(2) Verses 12–19. A prophecy of the sufferings of Christians and a promise of divine support under persecution.
(3) Verses 20–36. A prophecy of the fall of Jerusalem, 'the times of the Gentiles', the coming of the Son of man, and a warning to be prepared.

We have already noted the disagreement among recent investigators concerning the sources of this passage. A comparison in a synopsis of the Gospels shows that verses 5–11, 16–17, 21a, 23a, 26b–27, 29–33 can with confidence be regarded as Marcan. About the rest there is less certainty. If it is Marcan—and it follows the general arrangement of Mk.—it has been freely recast by S. Luke: if Dr. Vincent Taylor is right, it comes from another similar source, which Taylor believes had a greater attraction for S. Luke because it contained 'a mystical and half-poetical conception of the Parousia' which he preferred to the more 'objective' eschatology of Mk. Certainly the differences from Mk. 13 are as important as the agreements with it, when we try to discover what S. Luke's eschatology means. But in any case so much of Mk. has been used that it becomes of the first importance to see what we can make of Mk. 13.

Mk. 13 is a very enigmatic document. But there is a fairly wide agreement among scholars concerning one important feature of it, its indebtedness to a written Jewish-Christian prophecy of the 'apocalypse' type. 'A discourse thirty-seven verses long at once stands out as unique in Mark. Equally in contrast to Q, and notably to Q's Apocalyptic sections (cf. esp. Lk. xii. 35–48, xvii. 22–37), is its systematic and detailed scheme of prediction and its comparative poverty of picturesque metaphor and illustration. It is, in fact, a complete and carefully articulated Apocalypse of the conventional type' (Streeter, in *Oxford Studies*, p. 179). If we accept this conclusion as a satisfactory working hypothesis, we are not therefore entitled to suppose that the chapter contains no authentic sayings of our Lord's; all that it involves is that we have there a composite document, combining genuine sayings with passages from the hypothetical apocalypse. Several attempts have been made to disentangle this incorporated apocalypse. We may follow Rawlinson, who would attribute Mk. $13^{7-8,14-20,24-27}$ to the author of the apocalypse, and describes him thus: 'The author was in all probability a Christian prophet who (like the author of the Book of Revelation) believed himself to be charged by the Spirit to convey to the Christian Church an apocalyptic message in the name of the risen Jesus. The substance of his writing consisted (as is usual in such cases) rather in the affirmation of accepted apocalyptic beliefs than in the statement of anything which was radically new. But because what he wrote gave expression to beliefs and expectations then generally current amongst Christians, and was believed to be a message from Christ, his words have become incorporated along with authentic sayings of Jesus to form the apocalyptic discourse of S. Mk. xiii as we now have it' (*op. cit.*, p. 181).

It is in the highest degree improbable that S. Luke was aware of the composite nature of Mk. 13. But for reasons at which we can only guess (one of them the fact that he was writing after the fall of Jerusalem), he makes some significant changes, the most important of which are just in those sections which are parallel to the incorporated apocalypse in Mk.: cf. esp. Mk. $13^{14-20}$ with Lk. $21^{20-24}$, and Mk. $13^{24-27}$ with Lk. $21^{25-28}$. The changes as a whole can only be studied by a careful comparison, which the reader should make for himself. But attention may be drawn especially to the fact that S. Luke says nothing of the Antichrist ('the abomination of desolation') appearing in the Temple, but instead says 'when ye see Jerusalem encompassed with armies'. He does not mention the shortening of the days for the elect's sake, the angels gathering in the elect, or the ignorance of the Son concerning the coming of 'that day or that hour'. And he adds 'Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled'. By these means he seems consciously to eliminate one of the most doubtfully authentic parts of Mk. 13, the Antichrist legend, and to detach the fall of Jerusalem from the Parousia. S. Mark, writing most probably before the fall of Jerusalem, is led by the apocalypse he uses to associate the Parousia with a mysterious horror still to come, the appearance of the Antichrist in the Temple, which will be followed by a great tribulation, shortened by God's mercy for the sake of the elect and ending in the appearance of the Son of man: all this is familiar apocalyptic matter. S. Luke is writing after the fall of Jerusalem. He recognizes in that catastrophe a fulfilment of authentic sayings of Jesus, but he knows that the fall of Jerusalem had not seen the appearance of the Antichrist, nor yet the coming of the Son of man, in the ordinary apocalyptic sense: possibly too, as we have seen, he may have had a document before him which contained no reference to the Antichrist. In any case, he discards the Antichrist and the shortening of the days, modifies the description of distress, and by the introduction of 'the times of the Gentiles'—itself a recognizable formula of apocalyptic—he postpones the Parousia to an indefinite, though not necessarily distant, future. The mention of 'the times of the Gentiles' may account for the omission of what is most probably an authentic saying of our Lord's 'the Gospel must first be preached unto all the nations' (Mk. $13^{10}$).

(*b*) When we turn to consider the relation of ch. 21 to the other eschatological sayings (esp. Lk. $9^{26}$, $12^{32,35-48}$, $17^{22-37}$) it becomes apparent that S. Luke, by the changes we have just described, has brought his apocalyptic discourse more into line with the Q type of eschatology. In these other sayings we have at most only one doubtful reference to the fall of Jerusalem ($17^{31}$), and there is no mention of the Antichrist legend. The one outstanding difference between the two types of eschatological sayings is that, whereas in ch. 21 fidelity to his source leads him to retain the regular apocalyptic imagery of great convulsions of nature and other visible signs of the Parousia, there is elsewhere no mention of these, but rather stress is laid on the suddenness and unexpectedness of the Parousia.

(*c*) The most difficult problem remains when we endeavour to derive from the text of Lk. and Mk. as they stand the original teaching of our Lord about His return. Though Schweitzer and the so-called 'eschatological school' of critics have done much valuable work in drawing attention to the importance of eschatology for the understanding of Christian origins, their too confident solution of the problem is not adequate to explain the facts and is only reached by an unduly subjective treatment of the evidence. They reach the conclusion that Jesus did no more than echo the current apocalyptic ideas, though with all the additional forcefulness of a great personality, by accepting as *ipsissima verba* of Christ all the conventional imagery, pressing its literal use, and discarding as later accommodations all that spiritualizes the eschatological ideas. These three assumptions cannot be made on critical grounds: and the result of making them and arguing from them is their own refutation, since they make the rise of Christianity inexplicable. If Jesus was only one more deluded visionary, carried away by heated apocalyptic fancies to a miserable end, the Christian movement and the Gospels find no adequate explanation. The theory does not work because the problem is too large for this Procrustean treatment. Nor again will it do to try to eliminate the apocalyptic and eschatological factor from our Lord's teaching, and try to reduce Him to a teacher of morality, an ethical idealist with an exclusively social and humanitarian programme. Nothing can be more certainly historical than His use of the apocalyptic ideas of the Kingdom, the Son of man, and the Parousia. But He mastered these ideas: He was not mastered by them. And the only question of critical importance is, *how* did He use them.

No final and complete answer can be given to this question with our present knowledge. There is much that we must be content to leave doubtful. Some things may be stated with practical certainty: (*a*) our Lord did prophesy the fall of Jerusalem, (*b*) He did prophesy His own return, (*c*) He did use some at least of the familiar apocalyptic language. All this is too deeply rooted in the tradition to be later development of the original. There is good reason also to believe that in some sense He spoke of His speedy return, though He declared that He did not know the day or the hour (Mk. 13$^{32}$). The predictions of celestial portents in Lk. 21$^{25\text{-}26}$ and of wars, earthquakes, famines, and pestilences in Lk. 21$^{9\text{-}11}$ are doubtful, since they came probably from the incorporated apocalypse in Mk. 13 and conflict with the repeated refusal of a 'sign', the reply to the Pharisees in $17^{20-21}$, and the emphasis in the Q material on the sudden and unexpected character of the Parousia. It may be that our Lord by 'prophetic foreshortening' saw the fall of Jerusalem as the prelude to His return; but this cannot be called certain, owing to the awkwardness of the connexion, manifest both in the Marcan and in the Lucan discourses (note that Matt. $24^{3}$ adds 'and of the end of the world'), and to the fact that Jews would readily make the connexion, since for them the destruction of the Temple would be conceivable only as part of the last woes which the rabbis spoke of as preceding the Messianic age. In any case we can have no certainty about the precise words of Christ on the point: as Bishop Gore points out (*Belief in Christ*, p. 151), Matt. $24^{29}$ implies that the return would follow immediately on the destruction of Jerusalem, while Mk. $13^{24}$ is vaguer, 'in those days, after that tribulation', and Lk. $21^{24}$ suggests an interval of indefinite length.

Another aspect of the same problem is revealed by the saying in $21^{32}$ (cf. $9^{27}$) that 'all these things' would come within the lifetime of our Lord's own generation. 'All these things' is a vague phrase, but in the present context and in the light of $9^{27}$ (if that is eschatological) it seems to refer to the coming of the Kingdom and the Son of man. Many scholars (e.g. Plummer, Lagrange) think it refers only to the fall of Jerusalem. Lagrange justly points out (*Évangile selon Luc* on $21^{32-33}$) that 'it would be strange that Luke, even writing before the year 70, should risk the authority of Jesus for the connexion between the downfall of Jerusalem and the final Parousia: it is even certain that he has not done so since he has spoken of the times of the Gentiles'. This is true of S. Luke, but it may be questioned whether it is true of our Lord's original meaning. There is no inherent difficulty in accepting the idea of a 'prophetic foreshortening', and of supposing that in our Lord's consciousness, which was steeped in prophetic modes of thought, 'certitude assumes the psychological form of a sense of immediacy' (Rawlinson). The chief difficulty in accepting it as a satisfactory solution lies in the doubtfulness of the primitive Church itself concerning the *mode* of our Lord's return. In what sense did He speak of His return?

Broadly speaking there are two voices, giving different answers, in our N.T. On the one side, there was widespread expectation of the immediate end of the world and the visible return of Christ.

On the other, well within the lifetime of S. Paul, if not quite from the first beginnings of the Church's life, there appears a tendency common to S. Luke, S. Paul in his later epistles,[1] and S. John,[2] to see in Pentecost and the coming of the Spirit a partial but real fulfilment of the eschatological symbolism attributed to our Lord. The most striking example of this is perhaps S. Luke's treatment of the prophecy of Joel in Acts $2^{14\text{ff.}}$, where the 'day of the Lord' with all its terrific portents in heaven and on earth is referred to the day of Pentecost. In this conception of it the Parousia of Christ is not a single act, but a complex process, initiated at Pentecost and moving on to a final climax, when God shall be all in all. In the Spirit-filled Messianic community of the Church, they saw the new age and discerned the Presence of the risen Christ. All S. Paul's favourite antitheses, faith and works, grace and law, freedom and bondage, spirit and flesh, show the conviction that the new dispensation has begun: the gift of the Spirit is the 'earnest of our inheritance'.

How far this spiritual conception of the Parousia was consciously before our Lord's mind in His earthly life we shall perhaps never know. He spoke in general terms and familiar imagery, and we have no record of any detailed explanation given by Him. But it must be remembered that the apocalyptic language was probably never taken by anybody in a crudely literal sense, and that our Lord certainly developed its meaning in a spiritual direction, by discarding all ideas of a political triumph of the Messiah and his people over the kingdoms of the world. All the apocalyptic ideas that we can observe our Lord moulding to His use in the Gospels we find are transmuted by Him: it is so with the ideas of the Messiah and the Kingdom. By all analogy He must have done the same with the idea of the Parousia. It may well be that the Lucan-Pauline-Johannine tendency is not merely an attempt to explain away the eschatology, because it was awkward, as the days went on and the expectation of a visible return was not fulfilled. It is more likely that these writers understood the eschatology better, and that they came to see something that was more adequate to our Lord's own thoughts, and the true fruit of the ideas He had sown in the minds of His half-comprehending followers.

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[1] See the definition of the Kingdom of God as 'righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost', Rom. $14^{17}$.

[2] Cf. John $14^{18\text{ff.}}$.

Further information can be found in the works mentioned at the end of the essay on the Kingdom of God.

$21^{5}$. Herod's Temple, begun in 20 B.C. and still unfinished in our Lord's day, was one of the most magnificent buildings ever constructed, and full of rich gifts. It was of white marble, and a large part of its walls was covered with plates of gold. Tacitus (*Hist.* 5. 8. 1) calls it 'immensae opulentiae templum'. It is described in Josephus, *Antiq.* 15. 11. Sanday's *Sacred Sites of the Gospels* has a frontispiece giving a conjectural reconstruction. The destruction of the Temple was a blasphemous thought in Jewish minds, and could only be contemplated as part of the last woes. Mk. $14^{57-58}$ records that our Lord was charged with speaking against the Temple at His trial. For our Lord's prophecy cf. $19^{41-44}$. Note the different setting in Mk. $13^{3}$.

$21^{8-11}$. The transition in the thought is abrupt. The question about the time of the Temple's downfall is not answered, and instead is a warning against hasty conclusions about the end. It is tempting to see in these verses a reminiscence of some warning of our Lord's against being taken in by popular apocalyptism. But, as they stand, these references to wars and other disasters, the woes preceding the Messianic age, are drawn from the common stores of current apocalyptic imagery: cf. Rev. $6^{1-8}$. There does not seem to be any reason for the break at verse 10 'then said he unto them' unless S. Luke wished to detach what follows from the immediate context of the question concerning the fall of Jerusalem: cf. the Marcan parallel here and throughout this chapter.

$21^{12-19}$. There is every reason to hold that our Lord warned His followers that they would be persecuted, and promised the support of the Spirit. The tone here is more assuring and its grimness not so unbroken as in Mk. The meaning of verse 13 is obscure: Plummer thinks the testimony is to their loyalty or the truth of the Gospel: Moffatt translates 'that will turn out an opportunity for you to bear witness': Johannes Weiss thinks martyrdom is meant (the Greek is ἀποβήσεται ὑμῖν εἰς μαρτύριον). The proverbial expression in verse 19 cannot be taken literally after the foreboding in verse 16. For the assurance of Divine support cf. Lk. $12^{11}$: for its fulfilment see the story of S. Stephen in Acts 6–7 and the whole story of S. Paul's mission work, of which there may be some reflection in the wording of verse 12. Lk. $12^{51\text{ff.}}$ has a parallel to the family strife, which again is a common feature of apocalyptic predictions. Hatred of the Christians 'for their scandalous deeds' ('per flagitia invisos') is mentioned in the famous passage of Tacitus (*Annals*, 15. 44) in his account of Nero's persecution.

$21^{20-36}$. This passage, as we have it, presents a very different picture from the parallel in Mk. $13^{14-37}$. S. Mark speaks of the appearance of the Antichrist in the Temple, the short period of awful tribulation, and the appearance of the Son of man: S. Luke speaks of the destruction of Jerusalem, a period of unspecified length which follows it, 'the times of the Gentiles', and then, after a period of terror caused by celestial and terrestrial portents, the coming of the Son of man. The addition of another act in the drama, the times of the Gentiles, shows that the viewpoint has entirely changed. (See Taylor's reconstruction of this passage in *Behind the Third Gospel*, pp. 109 ff.: he argues that if the undoubtedly Marcan verses 21a, 23a, 26b–27, 29–33 be withdrawn, what remains has a coherence and unity of its own which reveal the foundation document.)

$21^{20}$. *desolation* (ἐρήμωσις) is apparently a survival from the phrase in Mk. $13^{14}$, 'the abomination of desolation'. Originally (in Dan. $9^{27}$, $12^{11}$) 'the abomination that maketh desolate' refers to the setting-up (168 B.C.) of an altar of Zeus by Antiochus Epiphanes in the Temple: see 1 Macc. $1^{54}$. But it came to be used of the Antichrist (so 'he' in Mk. $13^{14}$), of which S. Luke deliberately says nothing, borrowing the word 'desolation' and using it quite differently.

$21^{21}$. The ecclesiastical historian Eusebius says that the Christians in Jerusalem withdrew to Pella in A.D. 68 in obedience to an oracle which bade them leave the doomed city.

$21^{24}$. *times of the Gentiles*. The phrase is illustrated by Dan. $8^{13}$, $12^{7,11-13}$, where the mysterious symbolic numbers of the apocalyptic writer are used of the period of Gentile oppression.

$21^{25-26}$. Celestial portents heralding the end of the existing order of things are one of the commonest features of apocalyptic. They form a regular part of the visions of Divine judgement in the O.T. prophets, of whom the apocalyptic writers are in some ways the successors: cf. Amos $8^{9}$; Joel $2^{10}$, $3^{15}$; Ezek. $32^{7-8}$; Isa. $13^{10}$, $34^{4}$ (probably interpolated exilic prophecies).

$21^{27}$. The expression, deliberately mysterious and symbolic, is taken from the vision in Dan. $7^{13}$, 'I saw in the night visions, and, behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man'. That our Lord believed Himself to be the supernatural Son of man is not doubtful, nor is it in the least unlikely that He used these O.T. words of Himself; they would serve to express His conviction that as the Christ of God He was destined to triumph in the end. But if the view taken of the origin and character of this apocalyptic discourse is well founded, we cannot be sure that we have the original context.

$21^{29-31}$. The little parable of the fig tree, in its present context, refers to the signs just described, which herald the final consummation of the kingdom of God, when the Son of man comes after the times of the Gentiles. But it is hardly possible to be certain of the original purpose and meaning of the parable; we are confronted with the wellnigh insuperable difficulty of getting behind (1) the Marcan apocalypse, (2) S. Luke's editorial modifications of Mk.

$21^{32-33}$. Lk. omits Mk. $13^{32}$, 'of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father'. In $9^{27}$ we have already had a statement that the Kingdom of God would come in the lifetime of some of those who heard our Lord's words. There it followed warnings of His sufferings and return in glory, and preceded the account of the Transfiguration; see the essay on the Imminence of the Kingdom, where different interpretations are discussed. Here S. Luke shows no hesitation in recording the positive statement that the Kingdom is imminent, in a context which connects it closely with the eschatological symbolism which he has just given. He is writing at least forty years after the Crucifixion, when most of our Lord's hearers must have passed away. It is, of course, conceivable that he supposed, as he wrote, that the end of the world would come within the next few years, before the last aged survivors from the generation which heard our Lord in A.D. 29 had died. But it is most improbable, and his use of Joel (already referred to) in Acts $2^{14\text{ff.}}$ would seem to make it impossible. It is more reasonable to suppose that in the new age of the Christian Church he saw the fulfilment of our Lord's prophecy. In the preceding discussion we have already considered whether this was what our Lord meant, or whether He looked for a more literal fulfilment in the near future of the apocalyptic visions of cosmic catastrophes inaugurating the new age.

$21^{34-36}$. A warning to be morally prepared for the coming of the Kingdom concludes the discourse. The ideas of suddenness and unexpectedness are prominent, as in $17^{22\text{ff.}}$, $12^{35\text{ff.}}$

$21^{37}$. *lodged* (ηὐλίζετο). The Greek implies a bivouac in the open. It was common for pilgrims to camp out all round Jerusalem at the time of the great feasts. Our Lord would go to the garden of Gethsemane each night (cf. Lk. $22^{39}$, 'as his custom was'). Mk. $11^{11}$ seems to imply that He was staying with friends at Bethany (cf. Mk. $14^{3}$ and Matt. $21^{17}$) but it does not necessarily refer to more than one night.

Some manuscripts (the so-called Ferrar group) insert here the story of the woman taken in adultery, which appears printed in brackets as John $7^{53}$-$8^{11}$ R.V. and is generally held by scholars to be interpolated there. Its genuineness as part of Lk. has been defended by McLachlan (*St. Luke, Evangelist and Historian*, ch. 13).

*The Passion and Resurrection* (Lk. 22–24).

### ANALYSIS

1. $22^{1-6}$. The Priests' Plot and the Treachery of Judas.
2. $22^{7-13}$. Preparation for the Passover.
3. $22^{14-38}$. The Last Supper.
4. $22^{39-54}$. The Agony in the Garden, Betrayal, and Arrest.
5. $22^{55-62}$. Peter's Denial.
6. $22^{63-65}$. The Mocking of Jesus.
7. $22^{66}$–$23^{25}$. The Trials before the Sanhedrin, Pilate, and Herod.
8. $23^{26-32}$. The Way of the Cross.
9. $23^{33-49}$. The Crucifixion.
10. $23^{50-56}$. The Burial.
11. $24^{1-12}$. The Empty Tomb.
12. $24^{13-49}$. Resurrection Appearances:
    - (*a*) To two disciples on the road to Emmaus.
    - (*b*) To Simon Peter at Jerusalem.
    - (*c*) To the Apostles and others at Jerusalem.
13. $24^{50-53}$. The Ascension.

$22^{1-6}$. *The Priests' Plot and the Treachery of Judas* (cf. Mk. $14^{1-2, 10-11}$).

The rapidity with which events happen now is due to the haste of the Sanhedrin to get rid of Jesus before the feast. They probably were ready to defer His arrest till the feast was over (Mk. $14^{2}$), but Judas gave them an opportunity which they decided to take. If they could arrest Jesus without creating a disturbance and put Him to death before the evening of the Day of Preparation, so much the better. What Judas told them was that Jesus could be found in Gethsemane, where He spent His nights.

We are not told why Judas turned traitor. John $12^{6}$ says roundly that he was a thief, implying general bad character. It may be that Judas failed in courage. Jesus and His immediate associates were in obvious danger: and Judas may have thought that he would extricate himself by 'turning king's evidence'. But we can probably go farther than that. Judas was genuinely disappointed and enraged at what he regarded as the pitiful collapse of the movement. He expected a conquering Messiah who would sweep the Romans away; and now it was a practical certainty that all was going wrong, the heavy hand of the Romans would descend, and that would be the end of Jesus of Nazareth. It was because he felt he had been tricked that he went to the authorities. For the differing traditions about his end see Acts $1^{18}$, Matt. $27^{3-10}$.

$22^{1}$. See the essay on the chronology of Holy Week for the manner of dating here, and in verse 7.

$22^{2}$. The mixed multitude in Jerusalem had been greatly interested in the prophet of Nazareth. They were a turbulent excitable folk, and there might be serious rioting, involving consequences from the Roman governor, if Jesus was publicly arrested.

$22^{4}$ *captains* (στρατηγοί). These were the officers of the Temple guard, a special police force composed of Levites. These officers are drawn into the consultation because they were responsible for arrests.

$22^{5}$. Matt. $26^{15}$ is alone in specifying the sum, 30 shekels, about £5. It may be an inference from Zech. $11^{12}$.

$22^{7-13}$. *Preparation for the Passover* (cf. Mk. $14^{12-16}$).

The chronological questions involved in this paragraph have already been discussed. By following Mk. here S. Luke has definitely made the Last Supper the Passover meal. Our Lord comes into the city for the Passover meal, which had to be eaten in Jerusalem. By previous arrangement a room had been obtained, and a signal, 'a man bearing a pitcher of water' had been agreed upon. The danger in which Jesus stood made secrecy necessary. In the present form of the story, verse 15 must be taken as an expression of relief: our Lord wished to eat His last meal with His followers, knowing that His death was at hand, and the secret arrangements were made to enable Him to do this.

$22^{7}$. See the essay on the chronology of Holy Week.

$22^{10}$. A man carrying a pitcher would be distinguishable, as women usually did this work.

$22^{14-38}$. *The Last Supper.*

## NOTE K. THE INSTITUTION OF THE EUCHARIST

Doubt about the true reading causes difficulty here at a critical point of the narrative. The question is, Did S. Luke record the command, 'This do in remembrance of me', which appears in R.V. verse 19? Codex D, four old Latin manuscripts, Tatian, one old Syriac manuscript omit these words: and even conservative scholars, e.g. Westcott and Hort, have excised the words, regarding them as an early assimilation to S. Paul's account in 1 Cor. $11^{24-25}$. The same manuscripts also omit verse 20.[1]

The evidence is inadequate to establish the true text beyond reasonable doubt, but we may note that a comparison between the four versions of our Lord's words at the Last Supper makes it reasonably certain (1) that He did bless a loaf and a cup and gave them to His disciples, declaring them to be His body and His blood, but (2) that there was no certainty about the precise details, and so no absolutely uniform tradition in the Apostolic Church. If the shorter text (omitting 19b–20) is S. Luke's genuine autograph, his peculiar variation is certainly a strange one. For whereas in Mk. $14^{22-24}$; Matt. $26^{26-28}$; 1 Cor. $11^{23-25}$ the blessing and distribution of the bread precedes the blessing and delivery of the cup, S. Luke either reverses the order, the cup of verse 17 being the eucharistic cup, or he omits the cup altogether, the cup of verse 17, which is not described by our Lord as His blood, being then outside the rite altogether, and only a part of the preceding meal. In the *Didache* (an early Jewish-Christian document) the cup precedes the bread. If the cup of verse 17 is the eucharistic cup, we have a good example of the variation of detail in the primitive tradition, but one of small importance. A much larger question is whether our Lord did in fact command the perpetual observance of the Eucharist. If the shorter text of Lk. is genuine, the institution of the Eucharist as a permanent rite is not to be found in the Gospels, and 1 Cor. $11^{23-25}$ is our sole authority for the command to continue what our Lord did on the night before His crucifixion.

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[1] Wellhausen would omit all verse 19, and holds that in the original Lk. there was no reference to the institution of the Eucharist. See also an article by H. N. Bate, *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1927, where it is suggested that scandals connected with the Eucharist, such as were rebuked by S. Paul in 1 Cor., caused S. Luke to omit the narrative of the institution altogether. The suggestion is in some ways an attractive solution of the difficulties, but (1) textual authority is lacking, (2) it is difficult to suppose that later interpolators would be content with the insertion of no more than v. 19a.

The theory put forward in modern times that our Lord had no intention of instituting a rite, and that the Eucharist comes to us from the usage of the primitive Church, raises questions which are outside the scope of this commentary. The best modern discussion is that of Professor Williams in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, pp. 367 ff.: see also Guy, *Was Holy Communion instituted by Jesus?* Here we can do no more than refer to three points.

(1) The evidence of S. Paul (1 Cor. 11) is earlier than that of the Gospels, and reproduces what he learnt from the original followers of Jesus who had known the Lord in the flesh. S. Paul and his teachers had no doubt that Jesus did command the observance of the Eucharist. This is undoubtedly good evidence. The objection made to it is that, where there was so much fluidity and variation in the tradition, the command 'Do this' could easily creep into the form of it which S. Paul received, as a legitimation of an existing Church custom: and the absence of the command from any of the Gospel accounts is held to justify this suspicion of an 'aetiological' origin.

(2) The absence of the command from the Gospels is, however, not so significant as is sometimes alleged. The Gospels were written for those who were familiar with the Eucharist and had no doubt that it was instituted by the Lord. Their chief interest in the narrative of the Last Supper would be to read of the first Eucharist, the original of their familiar sacrament. The rite itself, not the command to continue it, was the heart of the story for men and women who knew the elements of the Christian religion but knew nothing of what agitates the modern critic. The Gospel narratives do not aim at completeness, but at giving a picture of Jesus for the further edification of those who had already received instruction. It is much more likely that S. Paul, harking back in a letter to that oral teaching which he and his readers had received, should give an account in which the command to repeat the original Eucharist finds a place. For in catechetical *instruction* it would be appropriate to add that: while in a gospel story it made little difference whether it was included or not. There can be no doubt that S. Luke himself believed that our Lord instituted the Eucharist.

(3) The main objection brought against the traditional view still remains. The eschatological character of Christ's teaching

is said to make it impossible that He should have instituted a sacramental rite to be observed in remembrance of Himself, since He died in the expectation of His own speedy return to inaugurate the Messianic age: and many critics go on to say that the traditional sacraments of Christianity are to be accounted for as borrowings, largely by S. Paul, from the 'Mystery-religions', in which they find analogous ceremonies and ideas, and to which the Christology of historical Christianity is also to be referred. We have already considered the eschatological problem, and suggested that the views of the thorough-going eschatologists are critically unacceptable. But apart from the validity of these opinions, the argument that Jesus could not have contemplated a church or sacraments, because He expected His speedy return, is quite worthless, in whatever sense the Parousia is to be understood. There was nothing to prevent Him from leaving commands for what should happen in the interval, however short the interval was to be. And, in general, Dr. Abrahams (*Studies in Pharisaism*, 1st series, p. vii) points out that a Jew sees nothing inconsistent in the two sides of our Lord's teaching, 'his prophetic-apocalyptic visions of the Kingdom and his prophetic-priestly concern in the moral and even ritual life of his day'. The O.T. prophets, as well as the apocalyptic writers and their followers in the later Judaism, find no difficulty in combining an ardent expectation of supernatural happenings, which are to inaugurate a new age, with a vigorous concern for immediate moral and spiritual needs. For the 'Mystery-religion' hypothesis the reader should consult Dr. Williams's article referred to above; Rawlinson, *New Testament Doctrine of the Christ* (Bampton Lectures, 1926), pp. 270 ff.; Bevan, *Hellenism and Christianity*. The matter is far too big for discussion here, but we may note the following points.

(*a*) Even if S. Paul uses language which is used in a semi-technical sense in the gnostic or 'mystery' cults (e.g. gnosis, pneuma, soter, kyrios), the parallelism in no way implies dependence. The use of a current religious vocabulary is unavoidable; and the ideas of the knowledge of the Lord, the spirit of God, God as Saviour and Lord, are as familiar in Judaism, in which S. Paul was brought up, as in the Hellenistic cults.

(*b*) The supposed transformation of a fanatical Jewish apocalyptism into a Hellenistic mystery-religion by the time (not later than A.D. 55) at which 1 Cor. was written is incredible, especially when it is attributed to the influence of the man who wrote the epistles to the Romans and the Corinthians, saturated with Jewish ideas and Jewish antagonism to all pagan cults.

(*c*) We hear the fiercest reverberations of S. Paul's battles with Judaizers, and yet not a hint of any objection against him on the score of pagan corruptions of the Messiah's teaching. It is hardly possible that if this handle against him had been there, his opponents would not have seized it.

$22^{15-16}$. We have already noted that this passage seems to fit better with a non-Marcan tradition in which the Last Supper preceded the Passover meal, being probably the Kiddûsh of preparation. As it now stands, we must take verse 15 as an expression of relief that He had been allowed to eat this Passover with His disciples. Verse 16 looks forward to the Messianic banquet: Jesus will never again take part in a Passover until the coming of the Kingdom brings the fulfilment of that which the Passover foreshadows. Verse 18 appears to be the Marcan doublet of this saying.

$22^{17-18}$. It must be left doubtful whether this is the Eucharistic cup or not: see the note above. Nor is it certain whether our Lord Himself drank or not.

Dr. Williams, in the article already referred to, regards the words 'I will not drink' &c., as (1) a reference to the future eucharists of the Church, 'in which the Messiah Himself is believed to be both the Breaker of the bread and the Bread which is broken' (p. 405): and (2) he would account for the synoptists' omission of the command 'Do this' by supposing that this saying is virtually the equivalent of that command. Interpreting 'the coming of the Kingdom of God' to mean the appearance of 'the Catholic Church and faith which went forth from the Upper Room, conquering and to conquer' he asks, 'what else can the "Messianic banquet" be than the Eucharist, the *sacrum convivium* which is the centre of [the Church's] life?'. The second part of this exegesis of verse 18 is somewhat speculative, but it must be admitted to fit in well with the only view of the nature of the Kingdom which can seriously rival that of the thorough-going eschatologists.

Plummer also makes the passage refer to the Christian Eucharist. O. C. Quick in his important work on *The Christian Sacraments* rejects Williams's exegesis.

$22^{19}$. No attempt can here be made to deal with the endless controversy which has arisen over our Lord's description of the bread over which He gave thanks as His body. What we are concerned with here is to note the historical context in which the words were spoken and from which any sound eucharistic theology must start. (1) Our Lord was speaking with the Passover-covenant in His mind, and with His own imminent death in the service of the Kingdom dominating all His thoughts. His body was that with which the sacrifice of His life was to be made. (2) This idea was brought into contact with the sacred covenant-meal, which was also a bond of fellowship between Himself and His followers. As at the Passover meal the lamb, the covenant-sacrifice, was received, so in this new covenant the victim, Himself, was to be received; and the food of their common meal was taken by Him and identified with Himself. He was to be their spiritual food. (3) Finally, the purpose of the whole action was redemption: as the children of Israel were saved out of Egypt, His disciples would be saved out of this world and brought into the promised Kingdom by means of His sacrifice.

It is on the precise sense in which the bread can be said to 'be' the body of Christ that controversy has arisen. The two main lines of interpretation can be called the metaphysical and the metaphorical. On the one hand is the group of theories which assert a real, though admittedly mysterious, metaphysical change. The doctrine of transubstantiation is one attempt to explain this change in terms of the Aristotelian doctrine of substance: but obviously other metaphysical theories can be applied, and not all who accept what is called the doctrine of the 'Real Presence' accept transubstantiation. For a modern metaphysical theory based on a value-metaphysic see Dr. Temple's *Christus Veritas*: admirable philosophical discussion will be found in O. C. Quick's *Christian Sacraments*. On the other hand are the theories which insist that the words of Christ here are simple metaphor and that they mean no more than 'This represents my body'. For a statement and criticism of this 'receptionist' view see Quick, *op. cit.* Many intermediate theories have been devised. The history of eucharistic doctrine can be found in Darwell Stone's *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.*

$22^{21\text{-}23}$. Jesus knows of Judas' treachery, and it is in bitter contrast to His approaching act of redemptive sacrifice and to His intimate table-fellowship with His apostles. The other apostles do not know of the betrayal.

Note in verse 22 that divine predestination and human responsibility are both assumed as working side by side in human affairs: neither neutralizes the other. This must be so, though to understand how it can be so is an age-long problem for human intelligence.

$22^{24-34}$. A composite paragraph, in which Mk., Q, and a third source seem to have been used. There are close verbal similarities between verses 24–27 and Mk. $10^{42-45}$ (true greatness), and verse 34 is Marcan. The saying about the twelve thrones is parallel to Matt. $19^{28}$, and probably comes from Q. The teaching on the true greatness (24–27) may be compared with that in Lk. $9^{46-48}$.

$22^{25}$. *Benefactors* (εὐεργέται). 'Euergetes' was a familiar title of honour adopted by some of the Hellenistic kings, e.g. Ptolemy III and Ptolemy VII of Egypt. Many instances have been found in inscriptions.

$22^{27}$. It was during supper that Jesus, according to the fine story in John $13^{2ff.}$, washed the feet of His disciples, an object lesson in the teaching given here.

$22^{28-30}$. The humility and service which are to be the aims of Christ's apostles are not incompatible with great rewards. The future dignity of the apostles is expressed in metaphorical language intensely Jewish: 'judges' is used in the O.T. sense of 'rulers', the symbol of the Messianic banquet is again used, the thrones are probably a reminiscence of Ps. $122^{5}$.

*temptations* (πειρασμοῖς): better 'trials'.

$22^{31-34}$. The transition to this warning is abrupt but very effective. The thought of Peter's humiliation cuts sharply across the promise of greatness. Plummer says on verse 34: 'For the first and last time in the Gospels Jesus addresses him by the significant name which He had given him. Rock-like strength is not to be found in self-confidence, but in humble trust in Him.'

$22^{35-38}$. The passage is a warning that some kind of new methods will have to be used to carry on the work after the Lord's arrest: but its obscurity has led to a great variety of interpretations. The medieval Papacy made it the foundation of the claim to universal dominion in Church and State: see the Bull *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII. At the other extreme, Dr. Easton in his commentary, following J. Weiss, takes it quite literally, as a command to the apostles to prepare for armed resistance against the Jewish authorities. He supposes that while Christ felt that His own death was necessary, He was convinced that the lives of the apostles must be preserved at any cost in order that they might carry on His work, and so ordered them to meet violence with violence.

This, he says, explains why the disciples were carrying swords in Gethsemane (Mk. 14[47]): 'indeed as a matter of history the armed resistance of the band when Christ was seized may be a reason why Christianity was saved from extinction.'

This is highly improbable: and Pfleiderer's suggestion that Jesus feared attack by secret assassins, but forbade force when it appeared that He was to be legally arrested, is not much better, though it does make room for the sayings which forbid the use of force at the arrest (Lk. 22[51]; Matt. 26[52-54]; John 18[11]). Apart from the intrinsic improbability that our Lord wished His apostles to fight their way out and lay themselves open to charges of riot and murder, these explanations concentrate too much on the sword. The natural sense of the passage is much wider in its reference: purse, wallet, sword are mentioned, and indicate by example the need of equipment against dangers, difficulties, and opposition in the missionary work that lies before the apostles. Nor is there any hint of 'armed resistance' in Gethsemane: the fact that one man used a large knife (*μάχαιρα*) does not justify such an inference, and in any case Jesus checked the disposition to resist at the beginning. The 'sword' is probably metaphorical, and has nothing to do with the sword of verse 50.

The difficulty of understanding the words 'It is enough' (v. 38) remains. They would fit in well with Pfleiderer's theory, but there is no evidence that our Lord was in fear of assassins, or took precautions against them. Burkitt (*Gospel History and Its Transmission*, p. 140) suggests that the disciples misunderstood the reference to a sword and produced two, which Jesus, disappointed at their obtuseness, puts aside with an ironical phrase and so dismisses the matter. If we are right in understanding the sword as metaphorical, or at least as having nothing to do with the immediate danger in which our Lord stood, some such explanation becomes necessary. But one cannot avoid the suspicion that something has disappeared or been distorted beyond remedy in the transmission of this story.

### 22[39-54]. *The Agony in the Garden, Betrayal, and Arrest.*

S. Luke clearly has a source other than Mk.: obvious differences are (1) the omission of the name Gethsemane, (2) the angelic strengthening (but see below), (3) Jesus prays once, not three times as in Mk. 14, (4) the resistance precedes the arrest, (5) Peter, James, and John are not mentioned as being nearer to Jesus than the others.

Verses 43–44 are absent in a number of manuscripts, and were apparently unknown to many of the patristic writers (Cyril of Alexandria, Ambrose, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa). They are probably to be regarded as a western insertion into the text of S. Luke: they are not on that account to be regarded as necessarily unauthentic. If they are omitted, it will be seen that S. Luke's picture of Christ in the garden is strikingly different from that in Mk.: the acute mental suffering is not described, and Jesus is represented as calm and resigned. The repeated injunction to pray 'that ye enter not into temptation' doubtless refers to the temptation to fail their Master in this supreme hour of trial. It is not clear whether our Lord was near enough for His disciples to hear the words of His prayer ('a stone's cast' is a vague phrase) or whether the substance of what must have been His prayer is given. Easton notes the psychological accuracy of the statement that the disciples were 'sleeping for sorrow', i.e. through the nervous exhaustion of grief and anxiety.

$22^{47-48}$. Apparently S. Luke means that our Lord avoided the traitor's kiss: contrast Mk. $14^{45}$.

$22^{50}$. The Johannine writer says that it was Peter who used his sword.

$22^{51}$. *Suffer ye thus far.* Most probably addressed to the disciples in answer to their question in verse 49. Our Lord knew that He must die. The miraculous healing is mentioned only by S. Luke. John $18^{10}$ gives the servant's name as Malchus.

$22^{52}$. It is quite likely that some responsible people accompanied the detachment of Temple police. This verse and the first part of verse 53 seem to be an addition from the Marcan record. Our Lord is contemptuous of the methods of His enemies. 'Men with clear consciences do not treat harmless teachers like desperate criminals, nor do they seek to avoid publicity for their acts. The nature of their "authority" is seen in the time they have chosen; both come from Satan' (Easton). S. Luke does not mention the general flight of the disciples (Mk. $14^{50}$).

### $22^{55-62}$. *Peter's Denial.*

With the exception of the first sentence of verse 61 this passage is probably derived from Mk., though there are some divergences perhaps traceable to L.'s version of the story. There can be little doubt that its poignant vividness goes back to S. Peter's own account of what happened on that terrible night. Jerusalem nights are often cold at Passover time, and Peter joins the group of people warming themselves round the fire. There in the light of the fire he is recognized by a slave girl. The tragic power of the story that follows gains greatly by S. Luke's masterly introduction of a scrap of oral tradition which is not found in S. Mark's account—'the Lord turned and looked upon Peter'.

Mk. says that the girl who first detected Peter followed him into the porch and challenged him again: in Matt. the second challenger is another girl: in Lk. it is a man. On the third occasion Peter's Galilean dialect or accent is said to have betrayed him.

Verse 62 is absent from a few manuscripts and is omitted by some editors as a later interpolation from Matt. $26^{75}$.

$22^{63-65}$. *The Mocking of Jesus.*

This is not the same episode as that in Mk. $14^{65}$, where it is members of the Sanhedrin who, after the night trial which S. Luke does not mention, maltreat their prisoner. Of the two versions both may be equally authentic, but if a choice is to be made, S. Luke's seems more likely to be correct, as this brutal treatment is less probable from the hands of the dignitaries of the Sanhedrin than from the hands of the soldiers who were holding Him in custody.

## $22^{66}$–$23^{25}$. NOTE L. THE TRIALS BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN, PILATE, AND HEROD

S. Luke's account differs in some important points from both the Marcan and the Johannine records of Jesus' trial or trials. Difficult problems arise in connexion with the trials, the question of the Sanhedrin's jurisdiction, and the charges brought against our Lord.

It will be convenient if we first review in brief the three versions of the trials.

(1) Mk. gives three trials (his account is followed in Matt.).
  (*a*) An irregular meeting of the Sanhedrin at night tries Jesus in the house of the high priest and finds Him worthy of death for blasphemy.
  (*b*) In the morning there is a consultation of the Sanhedrin, presumably to regularize the proceedings of the previous night. No formal condemnation is recorded: that is left to Pilate, before whom Jesus has to go.

  (*c*) Pilate tries the case and, yielding to pressure, sentences Jesus to be crucified. The charges are not specified.

(2) Lk. also gives three trials, but they do not correspond to Mk.'s.

  (*a*) The first trial is in the morning after the arrest before the Sanhedrin. No formal condemnation is mentioned, but Jesus is regarded as having condemned Himself by admitting that He is the Son of God.

  (*b*) He is then taken to Pilate on an indictment containing three charges: (1) seditious teaching, (2) forbidding to give tribute (a shameless lie), (3) claiming to be a king. Pilate examines the prisoner on the third count and finds Him harmless. Then, learning that the prisoner is a Galilean, he sends Him to Herod.

  (*c*) The so-called 'trial' before Herod does not seem to have been a judicial process. The tetrarch asks questions, but there is no judgement given, and the prisoner is returned to Pilate for judgement and sentence. Pilate proposes to scourge Jesus, but finds that there is nothing to justify a capital sentence. However, he yields to clamour and finally sentences the prisoner to death.

(3) In the Johannine account there are again three trials, but again considerable divergence, in particular the absence of any trial by the Sanhedrin.

  (*a*) Jesus is taken at once before Annas, formerly high priest and still so described, for examination.

  (*b*) He is sent by Annas to Caiaphas, high priest that year: but nothing is said of what happened when He appeared before Caiaphas or indeed whether Caiaphas examined Him at all or merely held Him in custody till He could go before the Procurator.

  (*c*) Pilate at first wishes to hand the case over to the Jewish authorities, but they object that they have no authority 'to put any man to death'. As in Lk., Pilate questions Jesus on the charge of claiming to be king, finds Him innocent of any crime, but in the end hands Him over for execution.

These varying forms of the tradition make it difficult to arrive at any exact certainty; but a close comparison of the stories will show that they can to a large extent be reconciled. It is almost certain that there were three marked stages in the process: (1) a preliminary examination at night, (2) a more formal Jewish 'trial' in the morning, (3) the trial before the governor. The most likely reconstruction from the material at our disposal will distribute the details thus: the night 'trial' was not a real trial but a short informal examination by Annas; the Sanhedrin met officially to investigate the case in the morning; they could not sentence Jesus to death, but they took evidence and formulated a charge for the real trial which was before the Roman governor. The first of these hearings S. Luke passed over as unimportant: otherwise his account is good and full. The appearance before Herod (which there is not the smallest reason to doubt) was not a 'trial' in the proper sense, nor does S. Luke represent it as such: Pilate invited Herod's assistance in a case affecting a Galilean and one where the perplexing bickerings of the Jewish parties were involved. S. Mark knew of the two appearances of Jesus before Jewish authorities but inverted the order, making the Sanhedrin try Jesus in the middle of the night, a most unlikely event. John's second appearance, that before Caiaphas, is the Sanhedrin hearing, presided over by Caiaphas, in the early morning.

Three other points demand brief notice.

(1) The procedure and jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin. It has been pointed out many times that the proceedings of the Sanhedrin violate the rules laid down in the Mishnah. It has been inferred from this that either the Gospel accounts are seriously defective or the proceedings were a gross travesty of proper practice. But the Mishnah tractate on the Sanhedrin is an ideal reconstruction by second-century rabbis when the Sanhedrin as a judicial body had long ceased to exist. It cannot be taken as a description of how the Sanhedrin must have conducted the hearing against Jesus.

It is doubtful whether the Sanhedrin had any authority to try capital cases. The Talmud practically denies that it had: Josephus (*Antiq.* 20. 9. 1) says that no judicial assembly of the Sanhedrin was allowed without special permission of the Procurator: the fourth Gospel does not mention any regular judicial process before the Sanhedrin and reports that Pilate offered to give permission for a proper trial by the Sanhedrin (John 18[31]) thus agreeing with Josephus and the Talmud. It is S. Mark who is responsible for the idea that the Jews tried and condemned

Jesus, whereas there seems to have been only one 'trial' in the proper sense, that before Pilate, who alone had full judicial authority. S. Mark was no lawyer; but in essence he is quite right, since it was the Jewish leaders who were morally responsible for the death of Jesus.

(2) The charges against Jesus brought by the Sanhedrin are correctly formulated by S. Luke ($23^{2}$): the second is a piece of wanton lying. No doubt our Lord's treatment of the traders in the Temple and His prophecy of the destruction of the Temple angered the authorities: but the charge of blasphemy against the Temple was of little value as the main charge. It appears from Pilate's questions that the only matter which he could regard as serious was the claim to be a king; and in all probability our Lord was officially condemned to death *de maiestate*, for treason, involved in His claim to be Messiah. This explains the eagerness of the Sanhedrin to extort a definite claim to be Messiah from Jesus' own lips.

(3) Was the claim to be Messiah or Son of God blasphemy? S. Luke does not definitely say that the Sanhedrin regarded it as blasphemy ($22^{71}$), but he seems to imply what S. Mark says explicitly (Mk. $14^{63-64}$). It has been objected that the claim does not amount to blasphemy in the strict sense of Lev. $24^{10-23}$, a deliberate cursing of God. But see Lk. $5^{21}$, $12^{10}$ for evidence that 'blasphemy' was used in a much wider sense.

$22^{70}$. *Ye say that I am.* The answer is undoubtedly affirmative, but its form is uncommon and suggests a certain reserve. Compare the answer given to the earlier question in verse 67. In both our Lord is unable to give an unqualified 'Yes or No' answer: for though He is Messiah and Son of God, the implications of these titles are not the same for Him as for His questioners. In particular He does not claim the political Messiahship to which His questioners by their ambiguous language seek to commit Him: cf. $23^{3}$. But He knew that no disclaimers of His would avail against His accusers.

$23^{2}$. In connexion with the second count see Lk. $20^{22-25}$.

$23^{4}$. Easton thinks that Pilate's statement is 'most surprising' after our Lord's admission. But it seems fairly obvious that Plummer is right in saying, 'Conversation with Jesus had convinced Pilate that He was a harmless enthusiast. He did not claim to be a king in the ordinary sense'.

$23^{7}$. The fact that Jesus was from Herod's tetrarchy would not remove Him from the jurisdiction of the Roman governor, and it is not likely that S. Luke means this. Jesus was liable to the Roman courts for offences committed in Judaea in any case. Pilate is simply asking for information and advice from a native ruler. Antipas would be in Jerusalem for the Passover.[1] S. Luke's knowledge of what happened in Herod's house may have come from Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward ($8^3$).

$23^8$. Cf. $9^7$, $13^{31}$.

$23^{10}$. Pilate would doubtless order our Lord's accusers to appear with Him before Antipas in order that the tetrarch might be acquainted with the charges and evidence.

$23^{11}$. Antipas, regarding Jesus as a crazy fanatic, treats Him with a coarse brutality quite in keeping with his character. S. Luke, who mentions this mocking by Herod and his soldiers, does not mention the mocking by the Roman soldiers before the Crucifixion (Mk. $15^{16ff.}$).

$23^{12}$. Apparently Pilate's consultation of Herod was considered a gracious act. The nature of their quarrel is unknown.

$23^{16}$. Pilate's view seems to have been that, though Jesus was in no way a dangerous person, He might be deterred from making any more trouble by a scourging.

$23^{18}$. Barabbas, a minor rebel leader awaiting trial, is suddenly mentioned, though there has been no reference to any release of a prisoner. The rather awkward abruptness of the narrative here may be caused by the introduction of a piece of Marcan material into the narrative with something less than S. Luke's usual skill.

S. Luke has no reference to a custom of releasing a prisoner at the feast: verse 17 A.V. is a gloss, based on Matt. $27^{15}$ and Mk. $15^6$. Apart from the Gospels there is no evidence for any regular custom of releasing a prisoner at the Passover; but Pilate may have done it for several years, or possibly the evangelists may have inferred that it was his custom from this incident. A parallel is quoted from an Egyptian papyrus of the first century A.D. in which the Roman prefect is reported to have released a prisoner in answer to a popular demand.

Rawlinson makes an attractive suggestion to explain the Barabbas episode. He follows Eduard Meyer in holding that the crowd which gathered (see Mk. $15^{8}$, Lk. $23^{13}$) was composed of partisans of Barabbas who came to beg for his release, and was quite different from the applauding crowd which hailed Jesus on Palm Sunday. In the Caesarean text of Matt. $27^{16-17}$ the name of Barabbas is twice given as 'Jesus Barabbas'. The name Jesus (=Joshua) was common, and Rawlinson suggests that when the crowd demanded the release of Barabbas they used the name Jesus: Pilate mistook them to mean Jesus of Nazareth and immediately offered to release Him—'Will ye that I release unto you the King of the Jews?' (Mk. $15^{9}$). The chief priests then made common cause with the Barabbas faction. S. Luke's phrase in verse 13, 'the chief priests and the rulers *and the people*', which at first sight is difficult to understand, becomes at once clear on this hypothesis.

---

[1] Pilate's presence in Jerusalem instead of Caesarea, the seat of the provincial government, is also explained by the Passover. It was desirable that he should be in Jerusalem to keep an eye on the turbulent crowds that gathered from all parts of the Jewish world.

$23^{22}$ Pilate, the representative of Roman justice, makes a long stand against the gross perversion of justice which is demanded of him. So far S. Luke lets Pilate appear in a decidedly good light. It has been plausibly suggested that one purpose of the third Gospel and the Acts was to be an *apologia* of Christianity to the official Roman world, and in particular to show that neither the religion nor its Founder was objectionable from the Government's point of view: hence the emphasis on Pilate's efforts to acquit Jesus, and hence also the consistently favourable picture given of Roman officials, as compared with the Jewish hierarchy and other Jewish opponents of Christianity, in their dealing with S. Paul.

Pilate was far from being an estimable character, but in giving way he would at least have the excuse that Jesus was technically guilty, since He had admitted that He was a king. John $19^{12}$ implies that Pilate was frightened into surrender by a threat of delation to the Emperor.

### $23^{26-32}$. *The Way of the Cross.*

The execution, according to Roman custom, took place at once after the sentence. S. Luke does not mention the scourging which preceded the Crucifixion: see Mk. $15^{15}$. This scourging was terribly severe, and in all probability Simon of Cyrene was impressed to carry the cross-beam because Jesus had been made physically unable to bear its weight all the way. Probably only the cross-beam is referred to here: the whole Cross, upright and cross-beam, would be too heavy for one man. Simon may have been a Jewish pilgrim from Cyrene or a member of the Cyrenian synagogue at

Jerusalem (Acts $6^9$): the proposed identification of him with 'Symeon that was called Niger' (Acts $13^1$) is precarious. His two sons, Alexander and Rufus (Mk. $15^{21}$) were clearly well-known members of the Roman Church at the time when S. Mark wrote.

Verses 27–31 are peculiar to S. Luke, whose interest in the part played by women in the Gospel story has often been noticed. Our Lord again foretells the tribulation which is to come upon the Jews and their holy city. Verse 30 is a quotation from Hosea $10^8$. The proverb in verse 31 is of the nature of an *a fortiori* argument: if I, who am innocent, suffer this, what will be the misery of the guilty nation! Probably the verb 'they do' should be taken as impersonal.

Of the two malefactors Plummer says: 'The hierarchy perhaps contrived that they should be crucified with Jesus in order to suggest similarity of crime.' Possibly they were involved in the riot led by Barabbas.

$23^{33-49}$. *The Crucifixion.*

S. Luke's account is independent of Mk. except for a few Marcan insertions (Lk. $23^{38}$ = Mk. $15^{26}$, Lk. $23^{44-45}$ = Mk. $15^{33,38}$: possibly verses $34^b$ and 49 are also Marcan). Among the more striking differences between the two versions may be noticed Lk.'s *omission* of the time when our Lord was fastened on the cross (the third hour), the railing of the passers-by, and the cry 'Eloi, Eloi', &c.: and the *addition* of two words from the Cross, 'Father, forgive them' (see the note) and 'To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise', the story of the Penitent Thief, and the mocking by soldiers.

$23^{33}$. *The skull.* Presumably an eminence so-called from its shape. Mk. $15^{22}$ gives the Aramaic Golgotha. The site is doubtful. The name Calvary is derived from the Vulgate 'Calvariae locus'. Crucifixion generally meant the nailing of the hands to the cross-beam; a piece of wood supported the weight of the body.

$23^{34}$. A considerable number of the manuscripts omit the first half of this verse; Westcott and Hort regard it as a piece of authentic tradition but not part of the true Lucan text: so Plummer q.v. for the manuscript evidence in detail.

The clothes of the condemned were the soldiers' perquisite. It was their duty to remain on guard till death ensued in order to prevent any attempt at rescue. They may well have taken dice to while away the time of waiting: verse 36 shows that they were hardened to their ghastly watch.

23[36]. *vinegar.* This must have been the sour wine which the soldiers normally drank. But S. Luke may have had Ps. 69[21] in mind and thought of the drink as real vinegar: the form of his sentence suggests this ('the soldiers also mocked . . ., offering').

23[38]. S. Luke regards the superscription as a further insult. The *titulus*, a tablet stating the crime of the condemned, was commonly fixed to the cross. All four evangelists give different wording, but all agree on the main point, that our Lord was crucified as 'King of the Jews'.

23[39-43]. *The Penitent Thief*: Lk. only. Mk. and Matt. merely state that the two malefactors reproached Jesus. It is useless to speculate on how S. Luke got the additional information. The robber accepts Jesus as Messiah and begs that Jesus will raise him from the dead. Our Lord's reply assures the man of more than he asked: he is not to wait till the resurrection, but will enter into blessedness that very day.

The word Paradise (παράδεισος) is originally a Persian word meaning a park: it is used of the Garden of Eden in the LXX. 2 Cor. 12[4] shows its use as equivalent to heaven, the immediate presence of God. Here it is used to express the intermediate state of the saved, in which they await the final resurrection: it is the same as 'Abraham's bosom' in the parable of Dives and Lazarus.

23[44-45]. The gloom lasted from noon till 3 p.m. S. Luke implies that there was an eclipse of the sun (ἐκλιπόντος). Both the darkness and the rending of the veil before the Holy of Holies in the Temple are understood as supernatural portents. Since the days of Origen it has been pointed out that a natural eclipse would be impossible at the time of the paschal full moon. Origen and many later commentators think the gloom was caused by heavy cloud: Lagrange speaks of the 'black sirocco' which is not uncommon in Jerusalem in April. The darkness is probably historical and explicable by natural causes; but the rending of the veil (and we may add the earthquake and resurrection of saints in Matt.) may be symbolic details added later, owing to the universal belief in antiquity that great historical events are accompanied by portents in Nature.

23[46]. S. Luke omits the cry of anguish 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' (Mk. 15[34]), the first words of Ps. 22, and gives instead a quotation from Ps. 31[5]. It may be that the Marcan quotation was thought to imply despair, and that S. Luke preferred to omit it as likely to be misleading. There is no sufficient reason to doubt the historicity of both these words from the

Cross. Nothing is more likely than that our Lord in His greatest anguish of body and mind should have felt Himself utterly deserted, or that just before He died, when the awful pain had weakened with the collapse of His bodily organism, He should have commended Himself to His Father, knowing that He was dying. These changes of emotional reaction, and the utterances, wrung from our Lord's dying agonies, which express them, are quite in keeping. No doubt S. Luke does tend to minimize the mental struggles of our Lord and present a more 'impassible' Christ than S. Mark: compare the two Gethsemane narratives and Lk. $6^{10}$ n. Yet that is not good enough ground for rejecting this Lucan word from the Cross, when it is entirely appropriate both to our Lord and to His circumstances. Some scholars have suggested that both these words from the Cross are attempts to supply words for our Lord's inarticulate cry as He died: both the Marcan and the Lucan forms of the tradition note a 'loud' cry. But the scepticism is needless: there were those standing within hearing of such a cry who would be more than ever attentive to every word that fell from the Master's lips.

$23^{47}$. Cf. Mk. $15^{39}$ for a variant tradition of the centurion's words.

$23^{48-49}$. The crowd watching the crucified included some of our Lord's followers, but they were not close to the Cross: John $19^{25-26}$ mentions the presence near the Cross, within speaking distance, of our Lord's mother, certain other women, and the beloved disciple.

### $23^{50-56}$. *The Burial.*

The Roman custom was to leave the bodies of crucified persons to rot unless the relatives or friends applied for leave to bury them. Among the Jews religious scruples made it necessary to bury all such, and the Roman Government never needlessly offended local feeling. Deut. $21^{23}$ orders that the bodies of persons hanged for crime shall be buried the same day: Josephus (*Jewish War*, 4. 5. 2) observes that the Jews were careful to obey this precept of the Law. Joseph of Arimathaea (the place has not been identified with certainty, but is traditionally Ramathaim, near Lydda, mentioned in 1 Macc. $11^{34}$) was a member of the Sanhedrin, who out of charity saw that the body of Jesus received burial before sunset. We know nothing more than the Gospels tell us about him. He was a sympathizer, but Matt.'s statement that he was a disciple of Jesus, if we are to understand by that an open and avowed disciple, goes a little beyond what the other evangelists say of his attitude: John $19^{38}$ probably expresses it most accurately. There was no time to be lost with the burial, as the Sabbath began at sunset. Hence, according to S. Luke's statement of what happened, the customary anointing of the dead was omitted: but contrast John $19^{39-40}$ where Joseph and Nicodemus anoint the body. The body, wrapped in a linen shroud, was laid in one of the rock tombs of which there were many outside the city walls. Presumably Joseph was the owner of this tomb: so Matt. $27^{60}$. The women who were watching marked the place because they intended to return and pay the last rites, which had either been omitted or, if performed by Joseph and Nicodemus, had escaped the women's notice.

$24^{1-12}$. *The Empty Tomb.*

## NOTE M. THE RESURRECTION

The evidence for the Resurrection cannot be fully discussed here; a separate treatise would be required. It is well known that the Gospel accounts contain different versions, and that it is difficult to bring them into harmony: and matters are not made any easier by the loss of the ending of Mk. The student must be left to compare the records for himself. Two points may be regarded as clear; they are as well established as documentary evidence can make them. (1) The tomb was empty; (2) there were several appearances of the Risen Christ to disciples.

(1) No fact recorded in the N.T. is better attested than the discovery of the empty tomb. S. Paul, S. Mark, and the later evangelists concur, and their narratives have the direct simplicity derived from the original statements of the eyewitnesses. Of course those who regard the Gospels as historically worthless will reject this testimony. Those, however, who accept the Gospels generally as good sources of historical information, can escape the fact of the empty tomb only by allowing an *a priori* prejudice against miracle to divert them. Present-day critics are more inclined to accept the fact and offer rationalizing explanations than to deny its historicity altogether. But this half-way house is also very unsatisfactory. Various attempts have been made, from very early times, to 'explain' the Resurrection on these lines. The first, namely that the disciples stole the body, is referred to in Matt. $27^{62\text{ff.}}$, and is quite incredible; nothing is so wholly incom-

patible with the evidence both of events and of the character and attitude of the apostolic company. Again, if the Romans, or the Jews, had removed the body, nothing would have been easier than to crush Christianity at the start by producing the body: and it is incredible that, if the Romans secretly removed the body, neither the Jews nor the disciples should have got to know of it, even if they left the grave and kept no watch on it, which in itself is not to be believed. A dead body is not so easily disposed of. Kirsopp Lake's theory,[1] that the women went to the wrong tomb and misunderstood a bystander who tried to direct them to the right one, is quite unconvincing: apart from the disregard of the evidence we have, and the absence of any positive evidence in its favour, such a mistake would be so easily corrected that it could hardly have survived for a day. Of course, the Resurrection cannot be proved in the same sense as the Crucifixion can be proved, since no one observed it happen; and Christians are not concerned to deny that faith must supplement evidence here. But the faith that an historical event of a supernatural kind did happen is a rational faith, based on evidence, and is more reasonable than any of the rationalizations suggested, at least for those who believe that in Jesus Christ there was a direct revelation of God of a quite unique character.

(2) The appearances of the Risen Christ can be given a greater degree of purely intellectual proof, since they depend on the experience of sincere men whose lives were entirely changed by them. We cannot here enter into the discussion of the nature of these appearances. The word 'vision', much used in this connexion, does not take us far: and the addition of the epithets 'objective' or 'subjective' is psychologically unsatisfactory. The difficulty involved in saying that the appearances were 'veridical objective visions' is that, while we are but stating in other terms that the Lord really appeared, we may suppose that we are somehow 'explaining' the appearances. Nevertheless, the further investigation of mystical experience may help to reveal more plainly the mode of the Resurrection appearances from the point of view of those who experienced them, but it can hardly do more than this. The psychological mechanisms whereby this particular contact with divine Reality was established we may expect to discover; but the action of the divine Reality would remain fundamentally mysterious.

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[1] *Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, pp. 251 ff.

The scene of our Lord's appearances after His Resurrection is given by S. Luke as Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. In Mk. 16[7] the angel at the tomb announces to the women that Jesus will appear to the disciples and Peter in Galilee: and in Matt. 28, after an appearance in Jerusalem, Jesus bids His disciples depart into Galilee, where the eleven see Him on 'the mountain where Jesus had appointed them'. There is no necessary incompatibility between the two traditions. We may suppose either (1) that those who saw the Lord in Galilee were not the apostles and their companions but other disciples who had returned home after the Passover; or (2) that the apostles, after seeing the Lord in Jerusalem, returned to Galilee, where they again saw Him, and then at the next festival, Pentecost, once more travelled to Jerusalem, where they were bidden to wait for the gift of the Holy Spirit. The injunctions to stay in Jerusalem which appear in Lk. 24[49], Acts 1[4], need not conflict with this second alternative. S. Luke certainly seems to believe that the command to stay in the city was given immediately after the Resurrection. But if he was unaware of the Galilee appearances, or rejected them, and found in his sources a command to wait in the city, he would naturally adopt that view. Again, the instructions given in Lk. 24[44-49] need not belong to the same appearance as that described in 24[36-43]: they may well have been connected with the final appearance before the Ascension, the narrative of which follows immediately. If we assume two appearances for the passage Lk. 24[36-49], one at the beginning of the forty days and the other at the end, there is time for the apostles' visit to Galilee and return to Jerusalem. We have already noticed that vagueness in matters of chronological connexion is characteristic of S. Luke, especially where he is recording sayings of our Lord; this appeared most notably in the Central Section of the Gospel. It would be quite in S. Luke's manner to have nothing more than the words, 'And he said unto them' to connect two passages which, whether he was aware of it or not, were spoken on two different occasions.

24[2]. The stone would have been used to block the entrance to the tomb.

24[4]. The 'two men' are angels, as is made clear by the 'dazzling apparel'. Granted the supernatural fact of the Resurrection, the vision of angels vouchsafed to the women is congruous, and it is arbitrary to regard it as legendary accretion.

24[6]. Commentators have suggested that S. Luke is here 'editing' the angels' message, which in Mk. contains the command to go to Galilee, and converting it into a mere reference to words spoken by Jesus in Galilee. His omission of any reference to appearances in Galilee presumably means that he knew nothing of them, and that his copy of Mk. ended, as ours do, at the words 'for they were afraid'. Hence he may well have supposed that the angel's words must have been inaccurately remembered, and that they really referred to what he had recorded in $9^{22}$.

$24^{9}$. According to Mk. $16^{8}$ 'they said nothing to any one'. Since the women's account of their experience was eventually given, it is natural to suppose that they kept silence for a time but divulged what had happened when they had got over their shock and fear.

$24^{10}$. The other evangelists give the names of the women earlier. All four mention Mary Magdalene: John mentions her alone, the other three give the other Mary as well: Mk. adds Salome, Lk. Joanna, whom he has mentioned before ($8^{3}$). The verse is a little harsh in construction, but the meaning is plain: the women named and also the other women told the apostles of their experience.

$24^{11}$. *idle talk* (*λῆρος*). The Greek word is uncompromisingly blunt and means 'nonsense'.

$24^{12}$. This verse is doubtful. It is omitted by D and the old Latin versions, and is probably an insertion into Lk. summarizing John $20^{3-10}$.

$24^{13-33}$. *The Resurrection Appearances.* (a) *On the Road to Emmaus.*

This exquisite story is found only in Lk. We may conjecture that the original source of it was the man named Cleopas. No doubt in the writing S. Luke has worked up his material, and in the dialogue between Christ and the disciples the wording will be largely his own. But the authenticity of this appearance is beyond any reasonable doubt.

The site of Emmaus is not quite certain, but is probably to be found at the village of Kaloniyah, about thirty-five stades (rather more than four miles) from Jerusalem. The village is said by Josephus, who gives the name Emmaus, to be a foundation of Vespasian's, and a colony of discharged veterans (*Jewish War*, 7. 7. 6). If this identification is correct S. Luke has exaggerated the distance from Jerusalem.

$24^{19-21}$. They *knew* He was a prophet: that was proved by His teaching and miracles. They *hoped* He was more, the Messiah: but that they now sadly feel was a mistaken hope.

$24^{24}$. This visit has not been mentioned before.

$24^{25-27}$. This is in line with the earlier statement that the disciples could not understand what Jesus meant by predicting suffering for Himself (Lk. $9^{45}$). The Messianic hope had been concentrated on the glories of the Messiah and His rule. Our Lord had probably applied to Himself as Christ the O.T. passages which depict the Suffering Servant of the Lord: see the note on 'The Suffering Messiah', p. 183. He now reminds the two disciples of these and other scriptures. Observe S. Luke's characteristic 'all' in verse 27. S. Luke no doubt had in mind the collections of 'Testimonia', O.T. proof texts, which were made very early in the primitive Church.

$24^{30}$. We cannot be certain whether this was intended by S. Luke to be a eucharist. The phrase in verse 35, 'the breaking of the bread', is in favour of this interpretation, since it appears of the eucharist in an almost technical sense in Acts $2^{42}$: but, as far as S. Luke's description of the meal goes, it might equally well be an ordinary meal.

$24^{32}$. The glow in their hearts might have told them it was the Lord even when they were walking along with Him.

### $24^{34}$. (b) *The Appearance to Simon.*

This is reported, not described; but its importance as the first appearance, and the appearance to the leader of the apostolic group, is made plain by its position in what appears to be an official list of resurrection appearances in 1 Cor. $15^{5}$.

### $24^{36-49}$. (c) *Appearance to the Apostles and others.*

This is undoubtedly a difficult passage. Easton believes that 'it is evidently from a different tradition' from L, on grounds of vocabulary. Wherever S. Luke got it, the insistence on 'flesh and bones' is startling. It is not unlikely that, in the attempt to state quite definitely that the Risen Lord was no mere apparition, S. Luke or his source has fallen into the common confusion between reality and materiality. 'Flesh and bones' may, of course, be used loosely for 'body'. There would be no difficulty if we could assume that. In any case it is most unlikely that S. Luke had in mind all the implications of the phrase: for him the flesh and bones and the eating of food are simply evidences of resurrection. S. Paul's doctrine of the Resurrection body does not admit of flesh and bones in the ordinary sense (1 Cor. 15, esp. v. 50).

$24^{36}$. The words, 'and saith unto them, Peace be unto you', are of doubtful authenticity and are suspected of being an insertion from John $20^{19}$: so too with verse 40.[1]

$24^{37}$. *spirit*: πνεῦμα, used popularly = ghost.

$24^{41}$. *disbelieved for joy*. An accurate psychological touch.

$24^{44-49}$. This passage seems to be intended as a summary of what the disciples learnt during the forty days. From this to the end of the book S. Luke is evidently making a rapid transition to the second part of his history, the Acts. The summary character of these verses is some evidence in favour of detaching them from the preceding passage: see the note on the Resurrection *ad fin*. The points on which the disciples were enlightened are:

(1) The sufferings of Christ as a true part of the Messiahship and as foretold in Scripture.

(2) The universal mission of Christianity, also foretold in Scripture. (For the passages which the primitive Church quoted see Romans $15^{9-12}$.)

(3) The fulfilment of the promise of the Father, i.e. the gift of the Spirit. (See esp. Acts. $2^{16ff.}$)

$24^{50-53}$. *The Ascension*.

This final appearance near Bethany, marked by a solemn benediction as a token of farewell, is more fully described at the beginning of Acts. The disciples are left in Jerusalem joyfully awaiting the fulfilment of the promise. With this appropriate note of expectancy S. Luke concludes his Gospel.

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[1] For the unusually numerous textual problems of ch. 24 see the appendix in Plummer, and Streeter, *Four Gospels* (references best found in his index).

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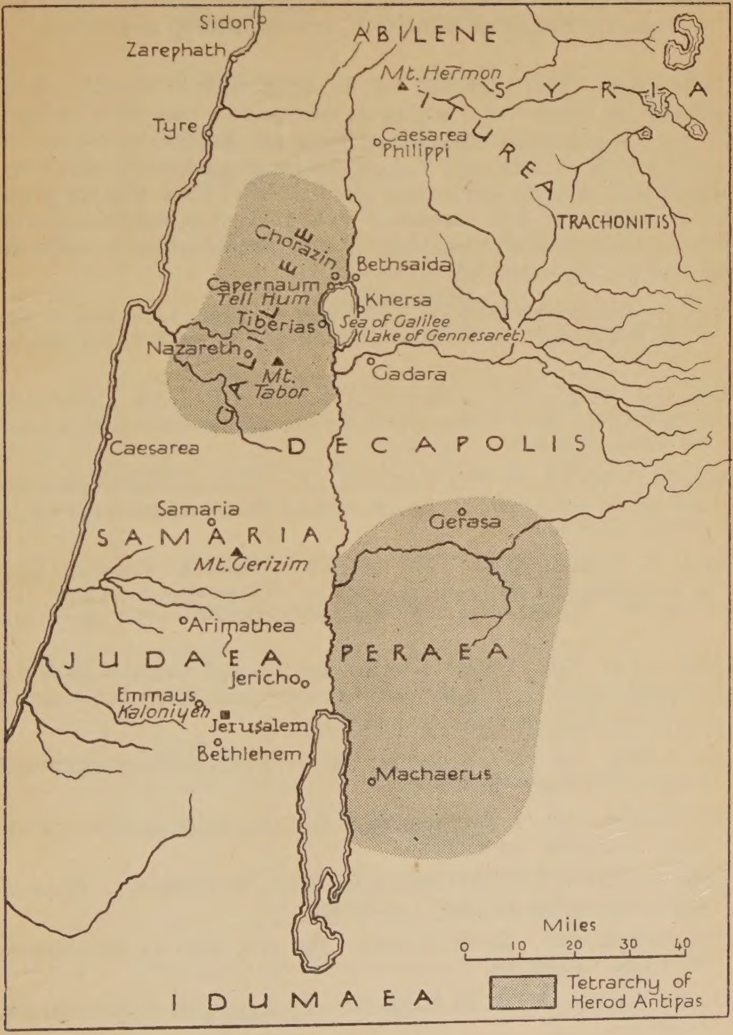

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